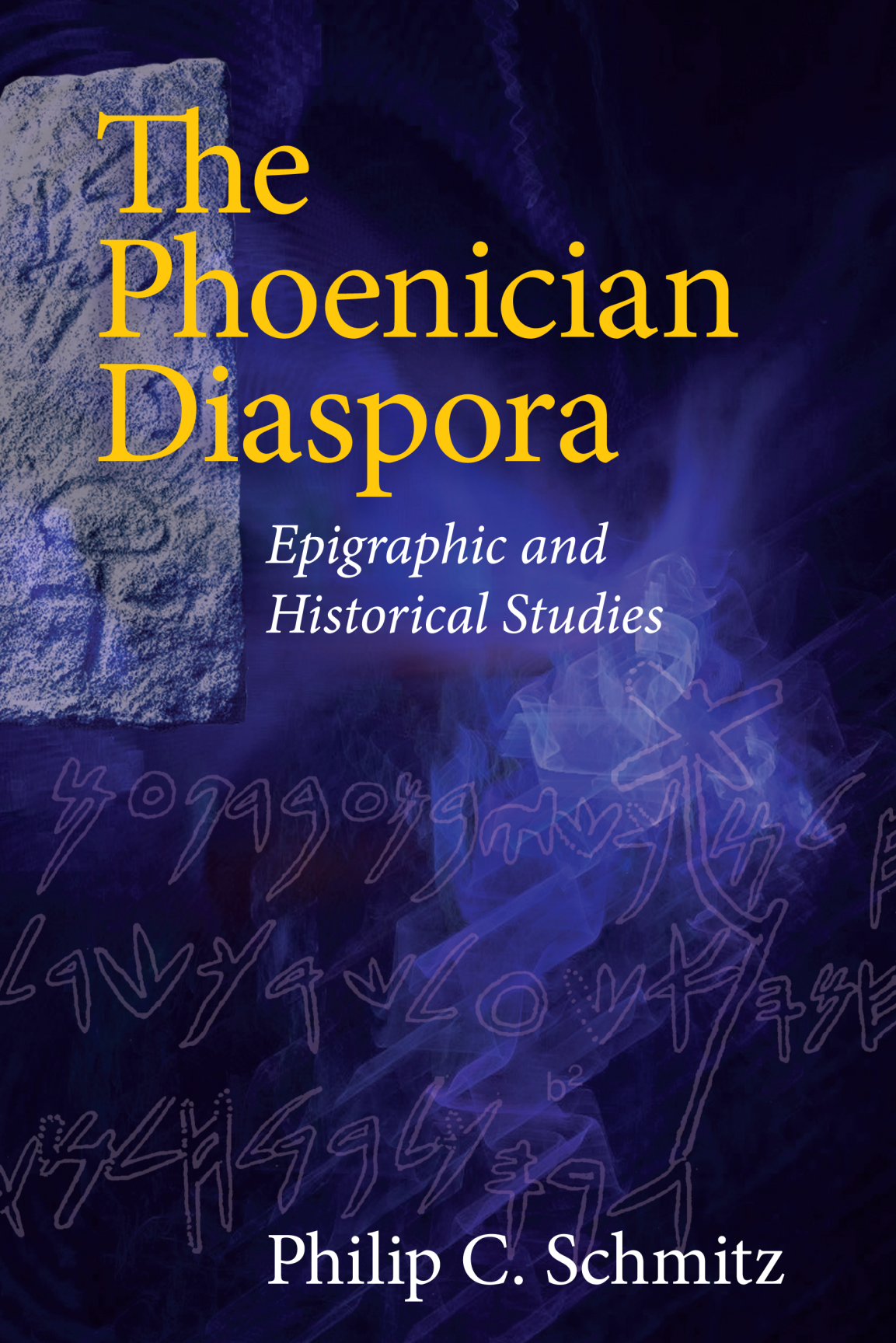




The Phoenician Diaspora

*Epigraphic and
Historical Studies*

Philip C. Schmitz

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The Phoenician Diaspora

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Epigraphic and Historical Studies

PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

with an appendix to chapter 5 by

JOANN FREED

Winona Lake, Indiana

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Preface

I have called this study *The Phoenician Diaspora* to emphasize the dispersed character of ancient Phoenician-Punic civilization itself as well as to represent the accidental character of epigraphic remains in Phoenician and Punic. Each chapter began as an individual study of a particular inscription or group of inscriptions. What unites the previously published inscriptions re-studied in this volume is their difficulty. Each has problematic readings, and none has yet been translated or interpreted grammatically in a manner that produces scholarly consensus. I have also included in this volume two studies of previously unpublished Phoenician epigraphs: graffiti from excavations at Tel el-Maskhuta in Egypt and an overlooked *dipinto* inscription on an amphora excavated at Carthage in Tunisia. I am apparently the first to have noticed the latter.

Chapter 1 rapidly surveys the history of Phoenician-Punic epigraphy and offers a partial inventory of recent publications of epigraphic texts. Chapter 2 undertakes a new reading and translation of the Phoenician stele from Nora, Sardinia (*CIS* I 144). Chapter 3 edits and translates the larger Phoenician inscriptions from Abu Simbel, in Egypt (*CIS* I 112–13). Chapter 4 concerns the paleographic analysis of the Phoenician graffiti from Tell el-Maskhuta. Chapter 5 publishes the *dipinto* from Carthage mentioned above. I am very grateful to Joann Freed, who added an appendix to this chapter. Chapter 6 takes a text-critical look at *CIS* I 6068, an enigmatic Punic inscription on lead, thought since its discovery to be a curse text. I argue that it is not a curse but a quittance for debt. Chapter 7 is a new reading and translation of *CIS* I 6000*bis*, a Punic epitaph from the Hellenistic period of Carthage.

I was able to autopsy the texts in chaps. 3 (Abu Simbel), 5 (Carthage), and 7 (Carthage). I thank Dr. Mohamed Saleh, former director of the Egyptian Museum, for help in arranging the visit to Abu Simbel. To Dr. Fethi Chelbi, director of the Carthage Museum, I owe a debt of gratitude for allowing me to examine numerous epigraphic holdings of the museum's immense collection. I further thank him for permission to publish my photographs of the Milkpilles epitaph (*CIS* I 6000*bis*) and the amphora *dipinto* (MC 91.65). R. Theodore Lutz transferred to me the right to publish graffiti from Maskhuta, and John S. Holladay Jr., director of the Wadi Tumilat Project, has graciously authorized their publication.

I conducted research in Tunisia and Egypt in 1995 with the support of the Academic Programs Abroad office in the Extended Programs division of Eastern Michigan University. The Academic Affairs division of Eastern Michigan University supported my research in Tunisia in 2001. I also owe a great deal to my colleagues in the Department of History and Philosophy at Eastern Michigan University, my academic home since 1990, and offer them sincere gratitude for kindnesses too numerous to list here.

A number of scholars have contributed to the completion of this volume in ways they may not recognize. I thank Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, Walter Aufrecht, Leila Badre, Gary Beckman, Nejib Ben Lazreg, Corinne Bonnet, the late John Pairman Brown, Roald Docter, Christopher A. Faraone, Ahmed Ferjaoui, Lisa Heidorn, Robert D. Holmstedt, James Holoka, Robert M. Kerr, Charles Krahmalkov, Edward Lipiński, Carolina López-Ruiz, Paul Mosca, the late Michael Patrick O'Connor, Dennis Pardee, Sergio Ribichini, Wolfgang Röllig, Helen Sader, Lester Scherer, Brian Schmidt, Mark S. Smith, Paolo Xella, and Jay Yager. Eastern Michigan University graduate assistants Sirish Kondapally and Antonio Salinas provided valuable aid. No one other than me bears responsibility for shortcomings in the text as it stands. I appreciate the skillful editing and production by the publisher. Amy Becker edited the pages with care and cheerful advice. Jim Eisenbraun showed patience and sagacity throughout the production process.

I lovingly dedicate this book to my dear wife, Jila Hemati Schmitz, without whose constant love and support I could not have completed the project.

Abbreviations

General

AO	Département des Antiquités Orientales du musée du Louvre (prefixed to accession numbers)
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
CID	A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Dagi in Rough Cilicia (Mosca and Russell 1987)
KJV	King James Version
MC	Musée de Carthage (prefixed to accession numbers)
NJPSV	New Jewish Publication Society Version
pl.	plate
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Sard.	Sardi (texts arranged by find spot)

Reference Works

ABD	Freedman, D. N., editor. <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 6 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1992
ACFP 1	<i>Atti del I Congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici: Roma, 5–10 novembre 1987</i> . 3 vols. Collezione di Studi fenici 16. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle Ricerche, 1983
ACFP 2	<i>Atti del II Congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici: Roma, 9–14 novembre 1987</i> . 3 vols. Collezione di Studi fenici 30. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle Ricerche, 1991
ACFP 3	<i>Actes du IIIe Congrès international des études phéniciennes et puniques: Tunis, 11–16 novembre 1991</i> . 2 vols. Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 1995
ACFP 4	<i>Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos: Cádiz, 2 al 6 Octubre de 1995</i> . 4 vols. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cádiz, 2000
ACFP 5	Spanò Giammellaro, A., editor. <i>Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi fenici e púnici: Marsala-Palermo, 2–8 ottobre 2000</i> . Palermo: Università degli studi di Palermo, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, 2005
AHL	<i>Archaeology and History in Lebanon</i>
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
ANET	Pritchard, J. B., editor. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969

AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARAB	Luckenbill, D. D. <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> . 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926–27
AuOr	<i>Aula orientalis</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAAL	<i>Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaise</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
Byrsa I	Lancel, Serge, and Thuillier, Jean-Paul. <i>Byrsa I: Mission archéologique française à Carthage 1979</i> . Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1979
Byrsa II	Lancel, Serge; Morel, Jean-Paul; and Thuillier, Jean-Paul. <i>Byrsa II: Mission archéologique française à Carthage 1982</i> . Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1982
CAD	Oppenheim, A. L., et al., editors. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–2011
CAT	Dietrich, M.; Loretz, O.; and Sanmartín, J. <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places</i> . 2nd ed. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995
CIS	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CTA	Herdner, A. <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963
DCPP	<i>Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique</i> (Lipiński 1992)
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DNWSI	Hoftijzer, J., and Jongeling, K. <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> . 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1995
EA	El-Amarna letters
EPHE	Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire
ErIsr	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
FK III	<i>Fouilles de Kition III: Inscriptions phéniciennes</i> (Amadasi Guzzo and Karageorghis 1977)
GKC	Kautzsch, E., editor. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HALOT	Koehler, L.; Baumgartner, W.; and Stamm, J. J. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited by M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
ICO	<i>Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente</i> (Amadasi Guzzo 1967)

<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>KAI</i>	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (Donner and Röllig 1962–2002)
<i>KI</i>	<i>Kanaanäische Inschriften</i> . (Lidzbarski 1907)
<i>KTU</i>	Dietrich, M.; Loretz, O.; and Sanmartín, J., editors. <i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Alter Orient und Altes Testament 24. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976
<i>NE</i>	Lidzbarski 1898
<i>NSI</i>	<i>A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions</i> (Cooke 1903)
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>PPG</i> ³	<i>Phönizisch-punische Grammatik</i> (Friedrich and Röllig 1999)
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REPPAL</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Pheniciennes-Puniques et des Antiquités Libyques</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> . Paris, 1905–68
<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di studi fenici</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici</i>
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
<i>StudMagr</i>	<i>Studi Magrebini</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	Botterweck, G. J., and Ringgren, H., editors. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–
<i>TPI</i>	<i>Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions</i> (Slouschz 1942)
<i>TSSI 3</i>	<i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i> , vol. 3 (Gibson 1982)
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum Supplements</i>
<i>WSS</i>	<i>Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals</i> (Avigad and Sass 1997)
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</i>

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Chapter 1

Phoenician Epigraphy's Third Century

Before succumbing to the European Enlightenment, the erudite period of historical investigation (Breisach 1994: 201–5) produced the intellectual climate in which decipherment first became possible.¹ Philological study of Greek and Latin texts, revived since the Renaissance, provided the context, and rationalism showed the methodology. Greek letters were the first to be studied for the history of their formal development. Semitic letters were soon to follow (Garbini 2006: 22–25).

The polymath Bernard de Montfaucon published the first systematic study of Greek paleography in 1708. In that work, Abbé de Montfaucon transliterated and interpreted a Phoenician coin legend now readily recognizable as *lšdnm* (Montfaucon 1708: 118); he read three of the five letters correctly (Lidzbarski 1898: 1.93). Half a century later, the decipherment of the Phoenician script would be accomplished.

The first publication of a Phoenician inscription (later, *CIS* I 122, *KAI* 47) was printed in 1735 (Lidzbarski 1898: 1.93–94; Garbini 2006: 23). This celebrated votive inscription (Sznycer 1974: 193–97) is bilingual, having a corresponding Greek text. Several fruitless attempts to read the Phoenician inscription followed hard on its publication. More publication of Phoenician texts was necessary. In 1738, the English traveler Richard Pococke copied Phoenician inscriptions at the ruins of Citium (Kition/Larnaka), Cyprus.² The copies appeared in print within five years (Pococke 1743–45). By 1750, John Swinton, an Englishman, had produced a decipherment of two of the Phoenician inscriptions copied by Pococke.³ Swinton's *transliteration* of the inscription later published as *CIS* I 73 is correct, and, as Lidzbarski (1898: 94) observed, Swinton could be said to merit *chronological* precedence as the decipherer of

1. No assessment of this movement exceeds Plumb's in disdain for their labors: "the onward march of erudition which, like a mindless regiment of white termites, gnawed away at the debris of history, digesting and excreting as if the activity itself possessed validity" (1969).

2. On Pococke's travels in Lebanon, see Bartlett 2002.

3. The inscriptions are published as *CIS* I 68 (see also Magnanini 1973: 84, C.1.1) and *CIS* I 73 (Magnanini 1973: 84, C.1.2).

Phoenician letters. Swinton's interpretation of the text, however, was entirely wrong. If decipherment includes interpretation, Phoenician was not yet fully deciphered.

In 1758, Abbé Barthélemy, who had deciphered Palmyrene script in 1754, read his decipherment of the first published Phoenician inscription (eventually *CIS* I 122). Barthélemy's transliteration (1764) was flawed, but the interpretation of the text he provided laid the foundation on which all later readings of Phoenician epigraphs would build. Phoenician had been deciphered.

The discovery of an archaic Phoenician inscription at Nora in Sardinia in 1773 was a harbinger of additional epigraphic finds that would eventually bring the Phoenician language out of the shadows of the past. In the 19th century, discoveries of additional texts, such as the Punic "tariff" found in the old harbor of Marseilles (1844 or 1845), the Phoenician graffiti from the colossal temple at Abu Simbel (1845), and a Phoenician-inscribed sarcophagus from the royal necropolis of Sidon (1855), inspired Ernest Renan's exploratory voyage in 1860–61 to coastal Syria-Lebanon and Palestine (Renan 1864). Under Renan's editorship, two folio volumes treating 3,251 Phoenician and Punic inscriptions would appear before the century's end.⁴

Archaeological interest in North Africa was inextricable from French religious and political expansion in the early 19th century (Frend 1996: 1–50). In Tunisia, Catholic interest in Carthage as an early Christian seat gradually made way for classicist curiosity about the Punic city (Frend 1996: 51–73; see also Lepelley's remarks in Gsell 1981: 9–10). Near Carthage in early 1894, A. L. Delattre's excavations disclosed the necropolis of Douïmès,⁵ and in one of its tombs was found a gold pendant inscribed in Phoenician letters with a dedication to Astarte and Pygmalion.⁶ German excavations in Ottoman Turkey uncovered a large Phoenician inscription at Zenjirli in 1902 (von Luschan 1911: 374–77; *KAI* 24; Wartke 2005). By the early 20th century, the number of extant Phoenician and Punic inscriptions was large enough, and their type and content sufficiently varied, to stimulate new studies of the Phoenician language and its grammar.

4. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars Prima, vol. 1 (Paris, 1881); vol. 2 (Paris, 1890).

5. Mabel Moore (1905: 28–32) offers a vivid description of the course of Delattre's excavations, the tomb where the find occurred, and the inscribed medallion itself. According to Moore, the tomb was opened in March 1894, the last of "about one hundred and fifty" to be opened that year (Moore 1905: 30).

6. *KAI* 73. For the location of the Douïmès cemetery, see Delattre (1906: 8, "Carte archéologique des Environs de Carthage," no. 18).

In European society as in the Levant, the persistence of the Greco-Roman classical ideal on the one hand and the religious study of Hebrew and the Semitic languages on the other kept alive a memory of the Phoenician language long after its alphabet had been forgotten. The Byzantine historian Procopius of Caesarea, for example, had claimed that the Moors of Libya were descendants of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua, and that they had continued until Procopius's own day to speak the Phoenician tongue.⁷ The Maltese language was regarded as a repository of Punic vocabulary.⁸ Samuel Bochart (1707: col. 300, lines 38–39) understood the Phoenicians to be synonymous with the biblical Canaanites, a sentiment echoed in Richard Simon's controversial history of the Old Testament (1685: 83).⁹ Most Phoenician documents had gone missing over centuries, but the philological expertise necessary to render them intelligible had not. The sparse and scattered remnants that had survived were not entirely neglected.

Wilhelm Gesenius is celebrated for his contributions to Hebrew lexicography and grammar, but he also placed the study of Phoenician on a firm foundation. He produced a fundamental paleographic study and compiled the first collection of Phoenician inscriptions (Gesenius 1835, 1837b). Paul Schröder, a student of Gesenius at Halle, produced the first grammar of the Phoenician language (Schröder 1869). In the generation after Gesenius's compilation, the number of published Phoenician inscriptions grew from 77 to 331.

Semitic epigraphy owes its maturation in great part to the labors of Renan and French scholarship of the Third Republic. In 1867, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres endorsed Renan's initiative to publish a *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* in five parts, the first of which would comprise Phoenician, Punic, and Neo-Punic inscriptions. In addition to Renan, the membership of the Cabinet du *Corpus* included Philippe Berger (1846–1912), Melchior de Vogüé (1829–1916), William Henry Waddington (1826–1894), Joseph Halévy (1827–1917), Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1846–1923), Jean-Baptiste Chabot (1860–1948), and René Dussaud (1868–1958).

Astorre Pellegrini's peroration on the difficulties that the members of the Cabinet du *Corpus* faced in their task merits extended citation, for its apt

7. *Wars*, 4.10.18–22. His further claim to have seen stelae inscribed in *grámmata phoinikiká*—"Phoenician letters"—attesting to this fact, is an enigma (Schmitz 2007).

8. For example, Quintin (1536). Early grammars of Maltese derived the language from Phoenician-Punic: "*ultimam originem et natales a Phoenicibus atque Poenis trahunt*" (Vassalli 1790: 25; italicized in original). Gesenius (1810) effectively refuted this view. For a contemporary survey, see Brincat (2003: 40–44 on Phoenician-Punic, and pp. 238–43 on Vassalli).

9. The allied but erroneous notion that the Hebrew of the sacred books is equivalent to Phoenician survives in attenuated form to the present.

evocation of the political circumstances of the project's inception as well as for its generous levity.

Who is able to imagine the obstacles of every sort from every hindrance that [the Commission du *Corpus*] had to overcome to set in motion—in the midst of a time not propitious for scholarship (1870–71), between the anxious tumult of war, the ruin of a government, and the horrors of revolt—the plan of this collection. . . . Who finally can form an idea of the enormous difficulty of organizing the material collected, patiently examining stones, sketches, intransigent manuscripts; laying waste entire series of a hundred reviews, periodicals, proceedings of the Academies of France, Germany, Austria, England, Russia, Sweden, America, Italy; culling through infinite monographs—and every day struggling hand to hand with feints of the Phoenician language and its epigraphy: the omission of quiescents, the lack of diacritics, the interchange of consonants; the almost constant practice of not separating letters; the frequent orthographic variants; the facile confusion of letter with letter, from dialect to dialect. (Pellegrini 1891: 4–5)¹⁰

Nearly a century after Renan's proposal, the last fascicle of three large tomes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars Prima, appeared in print. James G. Février completed the edition after the death of Chabot in 1948. Table 1 summarizes the contents of these volumes. The *Corpus* suspended publication of Phoenician, Punic, and Neo-Punic texts after the appearance of Tome I, fasc. 3, in 1962. No continuing series for the publication of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions has succeeded *CIS* Pars Prima. New texts are published as they become available.

The series *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* was begun in 1900 to publish occasional commentary on epigraphic texts as a compensation for the slow pace at which the *Corpus* proceeded. The *RES* ceased publication in 1950.

Over the past century, epigraphists have produced selections of Northwest Semitic inscriptions intended as handbooks for students: Cooke (1903; cited as *NSI*), Lidzbarski (1907; cited as *KI*), Slouschz (1942; cited as *TPI*), Donner and Röllig (3rd–4th eds., 1973–79 [commentary, cited by volume and page]; 5th ed., 2002 [texts, cited by number]), Amadasi Guzzo (1967; cited as *ICO*), Magnanini (1973), Gibson (1982; cited as *TSSI* 3), Jongeling and Kerr (2005), and Jongeling (2008). Studies of inscriptions from particular locations have also made important contributions.¹¹

10. Pellegrini's book-length review of *CIS* Tomes 1 and 2 provides a synchronic view of the state of Phoenician-Punic philology at end of the century. A number of his comments on the texts remain fresh.

11. For example (in order of publication), Dussaud (1924), M. Dunand (1945), Dunand and Duru (1967), Masson and Sznycer (1972), Amadasi Guzzo and Karageorghis (1977;

Table 1. Contents of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*

<i>Volume</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Contents</i>
I	1881	1–9	Phoenicia	
		10–96	Cyprus	
		97–113	Egypt	
		114–21	Greece	
		122–31	Malta	
		132	France	
		133–38	Sicily	
		139–63	Sardinia	
		164	Italy	
		165–437	Carthage	tariffs, building dedications (11 inscrs.), votives (4 inscrs.), stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
II	1890	438–3251	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
III	1926 (fasc. 1)	3252–3913	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
		3914	Carthage	dedication to Astarte and Tinnit of Lebanon
	1947 (fasc. 2)	3914	Carthage	(continued)
		3915–20	Carthage	sacrificial tariffs
		3921	Carthage	altar dedicated to <i>šdrp'</i>
		3922–5260	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
	1962 (fasc. 3)	5260 <i>bis</i> –90	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
		5291	Carthage	plaque fragment
		5292–5509	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
		5510–11	Carthage	religious decree of 406 B.C.E.
		5512–21	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
		5522	Carthage	building dedication
		5523	Carthage	corner of plaque
		5524–5683	Carthage	stelae to Tinnit and Baal Hammon
		5684–5940	Carthage	cippi excavated 1945–50
		5941–6000	Carthage	funerary inscriptions
		6001–50	Carthage	funerary inscriptions (fragments)
		6051	Carthage	dedication to Tinnit and Baal Hammon (fragment)
		6052	Carthage	= 5523
		6053	Carthage	building dedication
		6054–56	Carthage	dedications
		6057	Carthage	Inscribed gold pendant excavated in Douimès tomb
		6058–67	Carthage	fragments
		6068	Carthage	inscription on lead

J. Teixidor regularly published comments on Northwest Semitic inscriptions from 1964 to 1980 (collected in Teixidor 1986). For two more decades, M. Sznycer periodically reported on the state of Phoenician-Punic epigraphy (to 1979, Sznycer 1983; from 1979 to 1987, Sznycer 1991; from 1987 to 1991, Sznycer 1995; from 1991 to 1995, Sznycer 2000). A valuable survey by Peckham (2001) details interactions between Phoenician and the Aramaic dialects. Lemaire (2003b) has surveyed recent textual discoveries. The annual bibliography published in the *Rivista di Studi Fenici* since 1973 takes note of new text publications as well. The most recent survey of discoveries (Amadasi Guzzo 2006) covers the Levant, Cyprus, and the western Mediterranean.

It is impossible to avoid repetition of some of the contents of these surveys in this introduction. My primary purpose here is to call attention to recent publications of new Phoenician and Punic texts and secondarily to point out important recent studies of published texts. I will proceed by site, from Iraq to Anatolia and south along the Levantine coast to Egypt, moving west into the Mediterranean and North Africa.

Iraq

Heltzer (1982) identified as Phoenician a partially effaced inscription on an 8th-century bronze bowl from the group discovered by Layard at Nimrud, the ancient Assyrian capital Kalhu (Barnett 1967, 1974). The classification as Phoenician seems likely, but the reading is extremely problematic. An 8th-century agate scaraboid excavated at Khorsabad (Bordreuil 1986: 24–25, no. 8; WSS 743) has a reasonably well-documented archaeological context. Its latest possible date of manufacture is 706 B.C.E. (Bordreuil 1995b: 256–58). The inscription, *ʿbdbʿl*, is expertly engraved. Its script was classified as Aramaic (e.g., Levy 1869, Ar. 3; Herr 1978: 49, Ar. 104), but since Vattioni’s important list of Phoenician seals (1981), the script is generally classed as Phoenician.

Turkey

Çineköy. The recently published bilingual inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician comes from a controlled excavation at Çineköy (Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 990–1007). The text can be closely dated, making it significant for the paleographic study of 8th-century Phoenician script. Its contents are significant to historians as well.

Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Phoenician inscriptions from Karatepe-Aslantaş are now definitively published with excellent photographs, together with the

cited as *FK III*), Delavault and Lemaire (1979), Bron (1979), Levi Della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo (1987), Amadasi Guzzo (1990b), Tropper (1993), Ruiz Cabrero (2003).

Hieroglyphic Luwian parallel text (Çambel 1999). A. Lemaire (2002–3: 35) has studied a Phoenician label incised before firing on a ceramic vessel discovered in excavations directed by M. H. Gates at Kinet Höyük (ancient Issus). The inscription dates paleographically to the late 8th or early 7th century; the name, read by Lemaire as “Sarmakaddanis,” is Luwian.

Syria

Ras el-Bassit produced a Phoenician text in ink on a pottery sherd: *lgrbʿl* (Bordreuil 1982b; 6th/5th century B.C.E.).

Ras Shamra. R. Stucky (1983) suggests the settlement was re-founded about 500 B.C.E.; he characterized the new settlement as a rural site. A Phoenician text, read *lhd/rmm*, is incised on amphora no. 302 (6th–5th centuries B.C.E.).

Ras ibn Hani. An amphora handle stamp from the 1978 season bears two lines of Phoenician script (Bordreuil 1981).

Amrit. Two Phoenician inscriptions are known from Amrit. The first (*RES* 1.192–93, no. 234, with earlier bibliography), a dedication to the god Shad-rapa, was found in 1881.¹² The second, a dedication to the god Eshmun, was discovered in excavations at the *Maʿabed* at Amrit and later conserved in the Tartus Museum (Dunand and Saliby 1985: 38–39, 46–47; Bordreuil 1985; Bordreuil and Gubel 1986: 417–19, with photograph; Puech 1986: 327–31). Archaeological data indicate that the *Maʿabed* was constructed during the Persian period, and is probably a late 6th-century installation (Peckham 1968: 130–31; Dunand and Saliby 1985: 7, 13, 49; Elayi and Haykal 1996: 26–27).

Lebanon

There are a large number of mostly unprovenanced arrowheads with archaic Canaanite/Phoenician inscriptions (Milik and Cross 1954; Cross 1992, 1993, 1996; Bordreuil 1992; Röllig 1995; Heltzer 1999; Puech 2000; Sader 2000) in Lebanon and contiguous areas. These are useful for paleography (Sass 2005: 43–44), and perhaps also for social history (Heltzer 2003).

Byblos. Bordreuil (1977a) published an unprovenanced fragment of a monumental inscription with part of two lines of text carved in *champlevée* style, dated paleographically to the mid-10th century B.C.E.¹³ Two other finds from the antiquities market, a terra-cotta throne inscribed in Greek and Phoenician and a green jasper scarab with a five-line inscription also appear to be associated with Byblos (Bordreuil 1988: 1156–64, figs. 4–10). Lemaire (2003a)

12. On the date, cf. Peckham 1968: 130–31; Puech 1986: 336–39.

13. The piece is housed in the Musée de Bible et Terre Sainte in Paris (inv. no. 4022).

recently published an inscribed silver amulet from Byblos in the Moussaieff collection. R. G. Lehmann (2005) undertook a comprehensive reexamination of the Aḥiram sarcophagus inscription and the shaft tomb inscription, resulting in new readings. Sass (2005) has asserted a lower paleographic date for the entire early Phoenician corpus from Byblos. Elayi (2009) comprehensively treats the Iron Age city.

Beirut. Excavations in the Bey 003 sector produced several sherds with inked text, only one of which has been published (Badre 1997). Despite the text's brevity, its letter forms are of paleographic interest (Schmitz 2002a). H. Sader (1998a–b) has published Phoenician inscriptions discovered in the city center excavations since 1993.

Sidon. Among the anthropoid sarcophagi discovered at Sidon (Ward 1994: 78–80), some are inscribed (Gubel 1995; Sader 1995a). Mathys (2005, 2008) edited additional Phoenician inscriptions from the Eshmun temple at Bostan esh-Sheikh. Bordreuil (2003b) has published two fragmentary inscriptions from the British Museum excavation.

Tambourit. An unprovenanced inscribed krater was probably looted from the Tambourit necropolis near Sidon (Wolfe and Sternberg 1989: 12, no. 9; Puech 1994). Discoveries in the earlier excavation of a tomb at Tambourit included a Cypro-Geometric III krater with three Phoenician letters written in ink on its shoulder (Bordreuil 1977a). Formal similarities of the krater with others from Tell el-Rechidiyeh suggest a paleographic date in the second quarter of the 8th century.

Tyre. Sader (2005) has published 62 inscribed stelae from Lebanon; most of these are from the el-Bass necropolis at Tyre.¹⁴

Tyre (vicinity). Inscriptions appear on kraters from tombs at Tell el-Rechidiyeh, south of Tyre. This was perhaps the site of 'Uṣu or Palaetyrus. Five tombs were accidentally opened in 1974, and two of them (IV and V) were examined and cataloged by Hafez Chéhab in rescue operations that year. The kraters of Tomb IV are of Cypro-Geometric III style and probably imports, datable to 775–750 B.C.E. (Doumet-Serhal 2003). Bordreuil (1982a) published two inscribed kraters from Tomb IV. The inscriptions were incised after firing. Recently, Bordreuil (2003a) has published three more inscribed kraters from the site.

Sarepta. The inscriptions discovered during University of Pennsylvania excavations at Sarepta are well studied (Pritchard 1988: 7–17). Best known

14. On the Tyre necropolis excavations, see Aubet, Nuñez, and Trelliso (1998–99: 267–96; 2003); Markoe (2000: 140, 142, 198, and fig. 73); Aubet (2001: 41–43; 2006a–b; 2008).

among these is the ivory plaque dedicated to Tinnit-Ashtart (Pritchard 1975, 1982; KAI 285).

Unprovenanced. Lemaire (2004) published the Phoenician inscription incised on a stone model of a ship's hull of unknown provenance. The inscription mentions *ʾtbʿl bn hmlk ḥrm mlk šr* 'Ittobaal son of the king Hiram, king of Tyre' (Lemaire 2004: 121).¹⁵ Lemaire dates the inscription to the time of Hiram III, ca. 533/2 B.C.E. For the sake of completeness, I mention here additional inscriptions from the antiquities market: a five-line Phoenician inscription acquired by the Louvre (AO 30 084; Bordreuil 1995a: 187–90, fig. 1) and a fiscal bulla from the Moussaïef collection (Bordreuil 1995a: 190–92 and fig. 2). I have restudied a published Phoenician inscribed amulet from the vicinity of Tyre (Sader 1990, Schmitz 2002b).

Israel/Palestine

Wadi ed-Daliyeh. Seal impression(s) from Wadi ed-Daliyeh include one Phoenician impression (Leith 1997, Sapin and Briend 1999:104).

Ez-Zib (Achziv). Three inscribed funerary stelae from this site (Driver 1953, pl. 8, nos. 6–8; Hestrin 1973: 144) were dated by Peckham (1968: 130, 133, 152) to the 7th century (inscribed *ʿbdšmš*), 7th–6th (*ʿmskr*), and late 6th (*zkrmlk*). A shoulder fragment from a carinated-shoulder amphora discovered in Prausnitz's excavation at ez-Zib (Achziv) bears an incised inscription reading *ʾdnmlk* (5th/4th century B.C.E.; Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 5, no. 6 and pl. 3). The definitive publication of the funerary stelae is by Cross (2002).

Hazor. An inscribed stele reading *(l)ʾdnmlk* (5th/4th century B.C.E.; Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 10, no. 15 and pl. 5).

Shiqmona. Phoenician texts in ink on pottery sherds (6th/5th century B.C.E.) were discovered in 1963 (Cross 1968; Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 16–18, nos. 31, 34, 38 (?) and pls. 9–11).

Tel el-Kheleifeh. Phoenician texts in ink on pottery sherds (Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 28–30, nos. 56–57 and pl. 14; DiVito 1993: 58, E [reg. no. 8058], pl. 83.b; 59, G [reg. no. 2071], pl. 81.c; 60–62, J [reg. no. 2070], pl. 81.b).

Akko has produced a Phoenician inscription in ink on a pottery sherd (Dothan 1985a–b).

Tell Keisan. Excavations revealed fragmentary Phoenician inscriptions (Puech in Briend and Humbert 1980: 301–10, esp. 304, nos. 1300(?), 3376, 5050).

15. A legible photograph is available online at <http://www.schoyencollection.com/smallercollect4.html#5235> [accessed December 7, 2001].

Tell Abu Hawam. Greenfield (1985) published Phoenician seal impressions from the site.

Tel Dor. A Phoenician seal was published by Naveh (1987b).

Jaffa. Juglet with Phoenician inked text reading *kd hrmš* (Avner and Eshel 1996).

Mispe Yamim. A bronze situla discovered during excavations in 1988 and 1989 is inscribed with a 6th-century dedication to Astarte (Frankel and Ventura 1998, Amadasi Guzzo 1996, 2001–2: 50; Aliquot 2004: 208).

Ashkelon. A hoard of inscribed bronze weights published by Iliffe (1936) was restudied by Lemaire (1980: 20–32; King and Stager 2001: 196).

Gaza. Two inscriptions on an amphora of the second half of the 4th century; either Persian or early Hellenistic (Naveh 1987b: 26–27 n. 18).

Cyprus

Idalion. A portion of a Phoenician text in ink on a pottery sherd was unearthed in the course of American excavations in 1973–80 (Stager and Walker 1989: 466, no. 669). Cross (1994) dated the script to the period 350–300 B.C.E. Hadjicosti (1997: 58–59) announced the discovery of 4th-century economic records written in ink on ostraca (from Room 1 in the north wing of the Phoenician administrative building) and inscribed gypsum tablets (from Rooms 6 and 8 of the west wing). Four of these texts—all economic—have been published by Sznycer (2004).

Kition. A complete inventory of Phoenician inscriptions from Kition-Bamboula has now appeared (Yon 2004: 151–230 [Phoenician inscriptions]). The corpus includes photographs and a concordance with *CIS* and *RES*. Of these, perhaps of greatest recent significance is a monumental inscription referring to a military victory (Yon and Sznycer 1991; *KAI* 288; Mosca 2006).

Other sites. Sznycer has published numerous epigraphic finds from Cyprus. Here I limit the list to his 1984 publication of six labels written in ink on ceramic vessels from Ayios Georghios and a seventh from Nea Paphos (Michaelides and Sznycer 1985).

Greece

Aegean inscriptions are surveyed by Amadasi Guzzo (1987), Bonnet (1995: 653–54), and Lipiński (2004: 145–48).

Crete. Sznycer (1979) published an archaic Phoenician text incised on a hemispherical bronze bowl from Tekke (McCarter 1975a; Cross 1986: 118, 2003:255; Amadasi Guzzo 1987: 22–24). Cross (1980: 17–20; 2003: 227–30) places its script in a larger context. For Phoenician-inscribed material from Kommos, see Csapo, Johnston, and Geagan (2000).

Italy

Pithecussai. Excavations on the island of Ischia near the harbor of Naples produced a sherd with an early Phoenician inscription (Amadasi Guzzo 1987).

Pyrgi. A Phoenician or Punic text incised on gold plate was discovered in 1964 adjacent to an Etruscan temple at Pyrgi (modern Santa Severa); the script dates to about 500 B.C.E.¹⁶

Sardinia. Inscriptions from Nora, Cagliari, S. Antioco (Sulcis), Bitia, S. Nicolò Gerrei, Monte Sirrai, Antas, Tharros, and Olbia are treated by Amadasi Guzzo (1990b: 72–87). In addition, note from S. Antioco (Sulcis) a Punic inscription incised on a silver cup with the date formula *bšt šptm bslky* 'in the year of the *sufetes* in Sulcis' (Bartoloni and Garbini 1999). Since 1991, Garbini has published periodic checklists of Punic inscriptions from Tharros (Garbini 2006: 201) and Antas (Garbini 1997; 2000).

Sicily. Phoenician and Punic stelae from the *tophet* on the Sicilian island of Motya are definitively published by Amadasi Guzzo (1986; 1990b: 55–59, 88–90, nos. 23–28). These and additional inscriptions from Sicilian sites—Palermo, Solunto, Selinunte, Marsala (Lilibeo), and Grotta Regina—are found in Amadasi Guzzo's handbook (1990b: 90–94, nos. 29–36).

Egypt

Abu Simbel. In chapter three of this book, I make the argument that not all the Phoenician inscriptions from the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel are graffiti.

Tell el-Maskhuta. In chapter four of this book, I publish several of the Phoenician texts written in ink on amphora sherds from the excavations conducted by the University of Toronto.

Abydos. W. Kornfeld's 1978a study of these graffiti (with photographs) is to my knowledge the most recent.

Saqqarah. The more complete papyrus letter from Saqqarah (KAI 50) is well known. Naveh (1987a, pl. 4) published an excellent photograph of it, suitable for paleographic study. Excavations at North Saqqarah produced Aramaic papyri and 26 ostraca, 21 or 22 of which are in Phoenician script and the rest in Aramaic (Segal 1983a: 5). The Phoenician ostraca are significant for paleographic study but otherwise largely uninformative because of their fragmentary condition. The inscribed funerary situla published by McCarter (1993) is probably of Egyptian provenance.

16. With previous bibliography, Schmitz (1995: 559–75).

Tunisia

M'hamed Fantar (1991, 1995a–b, 1996) published periodic overviews of epigraphic discoveries in Tunisia.

Carthage. The corpus of Punic inscriptions from Carthage is well published and thoroughly studied. Much work remains to be done to interpret the texts of the longer inscriptions, and I have undertaken some of that work in this volume. The excavations directed by Roald F. Docter (et al. 2003, 2004, 2006) at Bir Massouda, between the Mediterranean shore and the Byrsa, produced several pottery fragments with incised letters (Schmitz 2009). Note the excavator's assessment of the chronological evidence for the archaic period: "The conventional dates of the Late Geometric pottery imported into Carthage suggest Phoenician presence on the site not earlier than ca 760 bc" (Docter et al. 2006: 39). The first calibrated C¹⁴ dates of cattle bones found in the earliest layers of the Carthaginian settlement below the *Decumanus Maximus*, however, have yielded dates ca. 835–800 B.C.E. (Docter et al. 2006; see also 2005, and note the favorable review by Turfa [2006]).

Thapsus. This celebrated coastal city, between Lemta and Mahdia, was anciently served by a large Phoenician and Punic necropolis near the present coastal road at Hamadet Sidi-Zbidi that has been partly excavated. A late Punic inscription is carved into the stone wall above the subterranean entrance to the burial chamber of a Punic tomb with a stairway entry (Younès 1999, site no. 41, necropolis no. 7, Tomb 10 and fig. 2a). The tomb was opened illegally in 1972, prompting M'hamed Fantar to publish the inscription with an excellent photograph (Fantar 1978, pl. 8). Fantar's reading of the Punic letters is *bnn bn nzrs*.

Henchir Ghayadha. A temple of Baal Hammon at this site was in continuous use from the Punic period through the Roman period. Stelae in Neo-Punic and Latin demonstrate the interpretation of the Punic deity as the Roman god Saturn (Ferjaoui and M'Charek 1990).¹⁷

The last decade has witnessed considerable progress in the study of Phoenician-Punic grammar and in the lexicography of the language. Because I have recently surveyed these developments at some length (Schmitz 2004), I will not pursue the topic further in this chapter.¹⁸

Paleography strictly defined is the study of letter shapes over time. Phoenician-Punic paleography was European by birth, and its leading practitioners—

17. Garbini (2006: 201) cites additional publications of texts from North Africa.

18. I regret that this survey does not adequately account for the Iberian peninsula, particularly material discovered in Spain. I plan to devote a separate study to these discoveries, although Zamora's recent survey (2010) renders further effort largely unnecessary.

Gesenius, Euting,¹⁹ Lidzbarski—were German speakers. Ascendant in the 20th century were American scholars: William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971) and his student Frank Moore Cross.²⁰ Cross's student J. Brian Peckham produced (1968) the definitive study of “late Phoenician” paleography. The terminology of the title of Peckham's monograph acknowledged the paucity of Phoenician inscriptions from the period before the 7th century B.C.E. As the survey of recent text publications in the preceding pages illustrates, there is now a significant corpus of Phoenician inscriptions from this early period (see also Sass 2005).

Knowledge of Semitic philology, and in particular the skills of paleographic interpretation on which it depends, has been and continues to be transmitted in a lineage. Students learn from teachers, and the best become teachers in turn. Publication opens the content of the esoteric tradition to a larger circle. Changing context involves an element of risk by enabling the uninitiated to manipulate the tradition in new ways, not all of which are subject to control. Where there is risk, however, there is potential for benefit. “Changing context is a particularly powerful heuristic tool because contexts are usually established by largely conventional rules within disciplines and disciplinary subcommunities” (Abbott 2004: 141). In the heuristic typology advanced by Andrew Abbot, the author of this observation, changing context is one of the powerful possibilities of descriptive narration, the preferred method of explanation in the humanities.

Derrida presented the *aporia* confronting all historical research in these terms: “does one base one's thinking of the future on an archived event—with or without substrate, with or without actuality . . . ? Or else, on the contrary, can an *experience*, an *existence*, in general, only receive and record, only archive such an event to the extent that the structure of this existence and of its temporalization makes this archivization possible?” (1996: 80). Are we left at last only with talk, with the word, with narrative?

Perhaps no contemporary thinker appreciated the power of narration to represent history more than Paul Ricoeur (1984–88, 2004). While postmodernist critics—stalled by the problem of reference that imprisoned all narration in language—abandoned the project of history, Ricoeur, through an analysis of emplotment in narrative, showed a way through (Gunn 2006: 36–43).

19. Julius Euting (1839–1913), director of the university library at Strassbourg, “was also one of the last in a line of explorer-epigraphers” (Daniels 2002: 87). Daniels's appreciation of Euting and Lidzbarski (1868–1928) is set in a larger study of epigraphy and the history of writing systems. Healey has also published an appreciative review of Euting's scholarship (2004)

20. The epigraphic publications are collected in Cross 2003.

Recently, Ankersmit has, in my judgment, devised a satisfying solution to the problem of linguistic reference. “Description is ‘pure’ language,” he posits, “whereas historical representation combines the features of both things and language. Or, put differently, a historical representation is a thing that is made of language” (2001: 13). This move permits the generalization that “historical representation is metaphorical” (Ankersmit 2001: 14), a tactic that exploits the resources of language itself to empower its own use in narrative history.²¹

Shifting like Proteus, a plenum of reference in a universe of metaphor, this narrative—now language, now thing—innocently refigures a discipline, discloses a history. Discloses, because the narrative creates the history, heretofore unremembered, of the Phoenician diaspora.

21. Note the further caution that “the scope of metaphor in historical writing comprises both the past itself and its representation.”

Chapter 2

The Phoenician Stele from Nora (CIS I 144)

In 1773, H. Hintz recognized a Phoenician stele built into the wall of a vineyard at Capo di Pula on the southern coast of Sardinia, the site of the ancient city of Nora.¹ The next year, de Rossi published the text of the inscription from an unreliable copy supplied by Hintz.² Studies by G. Arri (1834: 59) and W. Gesenius (1837b: 154) improved readings of the text and stimulated further research.³ Succeeding generations have striven to interpret its eight lines and 44 letters.⁴ Even today, however, no published translation or interpretation is recognized as truly convincing.⁵ Zuckerman (1991) has demonstrated in detail why a number of earlier interpretations are unacceptable on orthographic and linguistic grounds; he himself follows but nuances the line of interpretation from Albright (1941) to Peckham (1972) and Cross (1972 = 2003: 250–53).⁶

1. Hintz was a professor of oriental languages at the University of Cagliari. Gesenius (1837b: 154) summarized the circumstances of the discovery. F. Barreca (late conservator of the Cagliari National Archaeological Museum and Director of Antiquities for the region of Cagliari) reported to Delcor (1968: 325) that the findspot was close to the San Efisio church at Pula. The topography of Capo di Pula is briefly described by Acquaro (1988: 59, map). More detail is provided by Chiera (1978, esp. pp. 21–32, 37–41, and fig. 1 [map]).

2. De Rossi (1774: 348). Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi (1742–1831) was professor of oriental languages at the University of Pisa and a bibliographer of Hebrew incunabula (see Luzzatto 1856 and Allison 1991). Gesenius (1837b: 154) and Delcor (1968: 325) criticized the inaccuracy of Hintz's copy of the Nora stele published by de Rossi.

3. On Arri's scholarly work, see Noja (1991).

4. *CIS* 1 144; *KI* 60; *NSI* 41; *TPI* 121; *ICO* Sard. 1; *KAI* 46; *NE* 427c; *TSSI* 3.11. Note Albright's comment: "in spite of the efforts of men like Renan, Clermont-Ganneau and Lidzbarski, practically no progress was made in interpreting this inscription until [Dussaud] 1924" (1941: 17). (The watershed, in Albright's view, was Dussaud's early dating of the script.) Delcor (1968: 325–26) surveys 19th-century and early 20th-century scholarship on the text. See further *NSI*, 110–11; *KAI* 2.63–64; vol. 3, table 2; *TSSI* 3.25–26; Amadasi Guzzo (1990b: 39–42).

5. Amadasi Guzzo (1967: 83–87 [*ICO* Sard. 1]) finds all previous treatments of the text dubious (p. 84). Her later study (Amadasi Guzzo 1990b: 41–42, 72–73) is also without translation.

6. Frendo (1996) follows a similar line of interpretation.

Regarding the paleographic date of the text, the judgment of Cross (2003: 253) is weighty: about 825 B.C.E. Amadasi Guzzo (1990b: 41) considers a period from the second half of the 9th to the first half of the 8th century (ca. 850–750) B.C.E. The most ambiguous readings involve the same letter, d/r, in line 2 and at the end of line 7. As the text below indicates, I read r in both cases.

Text

1. *btršš*
2. *wgršhʾ*
3. *bšrdnš*
4. *lmhʾšl*
5. *mšbʾm*
6. *lktbn*
7. *šbnngr*
8. *lpmy*

Word Division

[. . .] *btršš wgrš hʾb šrdn šlm hʾš lm šbʾ mlktn bnš bnn grl p my*

Sentence Division

- S1: [. . .] *btršš*
 S2: *wgrš hʾb šrdn*
 S3: *šlm hʾš lm šbʾ mlktn bnš bnn*
 S4: *grl p my*

Translation

[. . .] in/from Tarshish, and they drove out the enemies of Sardinia. Our queen compensated their militia for the debt between us. Its allotment (of land) is here to the water.

Readings

The reading of the first letter in line 2 as *w-* was established by Peckham (1972) and endorsed by Cross (2003: 250 n. 1), and I follow their reading in this study. In lines 2–3, the word division *hʾb* (with the definite article) was proposed first by Arri and followed by Gesenius (1837b: 157). While the word division is correct, the lexical interpretation ‘father (of)’ is not.⁷ In lines 4–5, I divide the words thus: *hʾš lm* (for the interpretation, see below, pp. 19–20);

7. Mentz (1944: 15–24) read *hʾb* as the personal name Habis, the founder of Tartessos mentioned by Justin (44.4).

to my knowledge, this division has not been proposed before. In lines 6–7, the prepositional phrase *bnš* forms a single constituent of the sentence.⁸ The same is true of *bnn* in line 7. Again, I believe these are new word divisions. In lines 7–8, the noun *grl* also involves a new segmentation of the words as well as the reading *reš* not *dalet*, for the last letter of line 7. Finally, my reading leaves behind the interpretation of line 8 involving a divine or royal name. Two words are to be distinguished: *p* and *my*.⁹ Altogether, my reading depends on five new words not previously proposed and three word divisions that were proposed before but interpreted differently.

Commentary

The text consists of four sentences, the first of which is incomplete. The stele is commemorative, bearing witness to a parcel of land that was granted to a military unit, apparently from Tarshish or Tarsus, that aided Nora when it was under attack. The grant of land was made in payment for military service rendered.

Sentence One

The first sentence is a fragment as the text stands.

[. . .] *btršš* ‘*in/from Tarshish*’ or ‘*by (oared) ship*’. My interpretation of the sentence structure assumes that the stele is broken at the top.¹⁰ A portion of the text that originally stood above the first line has been lost. We can presume that the missing portion of the text told of the arrival of auxiliary forces from an unspecified location. The meaning of Phoenician *tršš*, whether as a toponym or otherwise, is elusive.¹¹ In my view, it is possible that *tršš* in this

8. Some earlier studies read a letter after the *n* at the end of line 6. The large and excellently reproduced color photograph of the stele in Bernardini (1997: 43) shows that the stone is pitted but not incised with a letter at this point.

9. Mentz (1944: 18–20) proposed the same word division but interpreted *p my* as ‘entry [i.e., mouth] of the waters’, a reference to the Straits of Gibraltar. I do not accept the reading *lpny* proposed by Shea (1991) for line 8.

10. Many previous scholars maintained that the top of the stele is broken: e.g., Delcor (1968: 329), Ahlström (1991: 43–44), Cross (1972: 13 = 2003: 250). This is also the opinion of Krahmalkov (2000: 499 s.v. *tršš*) and of Lipiński (2004: 237).

11. *DCPP* 440–42; Lipiński (2004: 225–65). Ahlström (1991: 47–48) argued that *tršš* is an Anatolian toponym, probably corresponding to Tarsus. Phoenician pottery from the 9th century was found at Tarsus: see Goldman (1963: 110, nos. 651–59, 670, and pp. 120–22, 130, nos. 1068–75). On Phoenician economic interests in Anatolia and Syria, see Kestemont (1985), Lebrun (1987), Botto (1988), Röllig (1992), and Treumann (1997: 57–64). For a history of the identification of Tartessos with Tarshish, see Alvar and Blázquez (1993); Bondi, Bartoloni, and Moscati (1997: 14); Markoe (2000: 183). Aubet (2001: 204–6) rejects the

text may represent not a toponym but Greek *tarsos* ‘oar’ (Wiseman 1962) and, like its biblical homograph, designates a class of commercial or military oared vessels.¹²

Sentence Two

The second sentence, *wgrš hʿb šrdn* ‘(and) they expelled the enemies of Sardinia’, continues the narrative about the activities of the auxiliary forces implied in the lost first sentence.

grš lgarēšūl ‘they drove out, expelled’. The number of the verb is ambiguous (*DNWSI* 236). I infer from the plural pronominal suffix of the preposition *lm* (lines 4–5) that the verb is plural, its subject being the agents whose identity was conveyed in the first sentence, now lost with the broken top portion of the stele.

In Biblical Hebrew, the verb *g-r-š* lacks the object/emphatic particle before the definite direct object in six cases. In prose, only the imperative (Gen 21:10) and the infinitive (1 Chr 17:21) show this syntax. In verse there are four cases: Deut 33:27; Pss 78:55, 80:8–9. In all four of these cases, the object is a noun used in a collective sense in reference to humans.¹³ Note in particular the similarity of Deut 33:27: *wayēgāreš mippānēkā ʾōyēb* ‘and he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee’ (קִינ), a Hebrew verse line in which the verb *g-r-š* takes the noun *ʾōyēb* (consonantal ʾ- (y)-b, see next paragraph) as direct object without an intervening object particle.¹⁴

ʿb lʿbēl ‘enemies’. On the form, see *PPG*³ 134 (§196b). The noun is plural and in the construct state. There are two occurrences of the word in Phoenician: *CIS* I 91.2 and line 2 of the recently discovered Phoenician inscription from Kition (Yon and Sznycer 1991: 805, 810–11; Krahmalkov 2000: 27 s.v. *ʿB* II).

equation; Lipiński (2004: 229–34) supports it. López-Ruiz (2009) surveys the current state of research.

12. “As a term for large vessels we can compare it [Tarshish] with the Egyptian *keftiu* ships, i.e., ships that originally went to Keftiu, Crete, or to Egyptian *kpn* ships (Gubla/Byblos ships) which also sailed to Punt” (Ahlström 1991: 47). Ugaritic alphabetic texts distinguish *tk* ships (e.g., *KTU* 4.8:2–19, 4.366:2–15), *ʿtk* ships (*KTU* 4.42:4, 8), and *br* ships (*KTU* 4.8:2–19; 4.421:3; 4.467:1, 4, 6). The Ugaritic word *tk* is possibly cognate with Biblical Hebrew *skywt* (Isa 2:16, mentioned together with *tršš* ships), and *br* designates a class of large commercial or military vessel (Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998: 337). The word *ʿtk* is variously interpreted (Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1998: 339).

13. Malessa (2006: 33) ranks the ‘inherence-marker’ [± human] highest in salience. For Ugaritic usage, see Zuckerman (1991: 285); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2003, s.v. *g-r-š*).

14. The object/emphatic particle “is rarely used in [Hebrew] poetry” (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 162). Malessa’s study of the Genesis–2 Kings corpus reaches a similar conclusion (2006: 47).

The syntax of the construction *hʿb šrdn* is unusual but attested. In the Phoenician inscription from Hassan-Beyli, line 4, reference is made to *ʿrš hmlk ʿšr* ‘the territory of the king of Assur’ (Lemaire 1983: 11; *PPG*³ 212 §298*bis*). The same construction, *hammelek ʿaššûr* ‘the king of Assur’, occurs in Biblical Hebrew (Isa 36:8, 16). M. O’Connor observed that this type of construction is analogous to the false idafa construction in Arabic grammar and that “the distribution of false idafas in West Semitic is related to the difficult problem of the definiteness of proper names” (O’Connor 1977: 10–11).¹⁵

Sentence Three

The third sentence, *šlm hʿš lm šbʿ mlktn bnš bnn* ‘Our queen compensated their militia for the debt between us’, refers to the event commemorated by the inscribed stele. Note the V O S constituent order. V O S order occurs in the Karatepe portal inscription: *wylk zbh l kl hmskt* ‘and all the *mskt* [probably ‘river valley’] bring sacrifice to him’ (KAI 26 A II 19–III 1).¹⁶

šlm lšillēmal ‘pay, repay, compensate’ (3*fs* from *š-l-m*). The vocalization shown here assumes that the subject is *mlktn*, interpreted as ‘our queen’. The meaning ‘repay’ or ‘compensate’ is attested for *š-l-m* in both Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician-Punic (DNWSI 1145; Krahmalkov 2000: 463 s.v. *šlm* I.3). The object phrase, *hʿš lm šbʿ* ‘their militia’, is asyndetic, lacking the object/emphatic particle. The object noun *šbʿ* is collective.

The absence of a coordinating conjunction before the verb *šlm* in this sentence merits attention. I view the syntax as marking a change of subject, signaling a clause boundary. Note the Phoenician sentence *wmy bl hz pn š šty bʿl ʿdr* ‘As for him who had never seen the face of a sheep, I made him the owner of a flock’ (KAI 24.11).¹⁷ In this sentence, the verb *št* stands in clause-initial position without a coordinating conjunction. Asyndeton raises the salience of the verb, drawing attention to the change of subject.¹⁸ I think the same interpretation applies to *šlm* in the present instance.

ʿš lm ‘their’. The relative clause is in attributive position. Similar syntax can be seen in the phrase *ʿyt kl ʿš ʿlty mšrt* ‘all the (public) service that was incumbent upon him’ (KAI 60.4).¹⁹ The phrase is the object of the preceding verb

15. I wish to thank Edward L. Greenstein, whose perceptive question about this construction stimulated my analysis.

16. For additional discussion of V O S syntax, see chap. 3.

17. The clause *hz pn* ‘see the face (of)’ implies ownership (Krahmalkov 2000: 180 s.v. *hz*).

18. On the syntactic marking of subject change, see Schmitz (1995: 566).

19. Krahmalkov (2001: 101) treats the indirect genitive construction *ʿš l-* as lexicalized (cf. *PPG*³ 199, §282.3c). The phrase *ʿš lm* introduces an internally headed relative clause.

pʿl. Constituent order in adnominal possessive phrases of this sort may entail semantic nuance, such as alienability of the possession (Diem 1986).

šbʿ /*šābāʿ*/ ‘army, militia’ (DNWSI 955 s.v. *šbʿ*₃). The noun also occurs in the Phoenician inscription CIS I 197 (Krahmalkov 2000: 411 s.v.; cf. DNWSI 956 s.v. *šbʿ*₆).

mlktn /*mlkatōn*/ ‘our queen’. While this word has generally been regarded as a personal name, the putative name remains problematic. For example, Lipiński (2004: 240) provides several arguments against the interpretation of *mlktn* as a personal name. The noun *mlkt* ‘queen’ is well attested in Ugaritic (Zemánek 1995: 167; Cunchillos, Vita, and Zamora 2003a: 2268–70; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 556–57) and Phoenician (DNWSI 634–40; Krahmalkov 2000: 289). The word *mlkt* could be a divine epithet or the title of a human ruler. I think it unlikely that the term *mlktn* is an epithet of a goddess in whose stead a corporate body acted. It is also questionable whether queens were likely to be found in early Phoenician communities of the western Mediterranean. Bondi (1994: 362), for example, observes that, in western Phoenician foundations, the evidence favors republican over royal political structures and templar over palatial institutions. The queen may, however, have been an indigenous ruler.²⁰

If *mlktn* refers to a human queen, the transaction is entirely intelligible. From the Late Bronze Age in Syria and Mesopotamia, grants for military assistance were a royal prerogative, amply attested at Ugarit (Márquez Rowe 2006).²¹ Mercenaries in the service of Egyptian pharaohs also traditionally received grants of land in payment (al-Nubi 1997: 181).²²

b-. The preposition *b-* is used in contexts of exchange or payment in Phoenician and Punic: *ʿlmt ytn bš* ‘a girl (was) given for a sheep’ (KAI 24.8); *bʿlp kll* ‘for a whole ox’ (KAI 69.3, glossing with Krahmalkov 2000: 94, s.v. *b-*). The first citation is Phoenician, from a royal inscription; the second is Punic, from the Marseilles ‘tariff’, in a section listing prices for sacrifices according to animal victims.

For full discussion of the syntax from the perspective of linguistic minimalism, see Schmitz (forthcoming b).

20. Very little is known about women in the nuraghe civilization of Sardinia (Lilliu 2006: 90).

21. In an alphabetic ritual text from Ugarit, Cunchillos, Vita, and Zamora (2003b: 00-1.103.47) read the word *mlktn* ‘our queen’ in this passage: *mrḥy . mlktn san*; cf. CAT 1.103.47: *mrḥy . mlk tnsan*.

22. In reference to an Egyptian “king” Sethos, a contemporary of Sennacherib, Herodotus mentions a traditional practice of granting twelve acres (Greek *arouras*) of land to each warrior for military service (2.141.1).

nš /*nīš(i)*/. The root is III-y, *n-š-y*. This noun is cognate with Biblical Hebrew *nēšî*, ‘debt, loan’.²³ The noun occurs only in a saying of Elijah in 2 Kgs 4:7 (Kethiv), “Go sell the oil and pay your debt [*nšyk*].” The word *nēšî* also appears in Middle Hebrew (Ben Yehuda 1960: 3823 s.v. *nšy*).

bnn /*bēnōn*/ ‘between us’. The preposition /*bēn-*/ (< *bayn-*) is not clearly attested elsewhere in Phoenician.²⁴ The preposition *bn* is attested in Ugaritic with the meaning ‘between’, for example, *bn tllm* ‘between the tables’ (CAT 1.3 II 30; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 228 s.v. *bn* II). Personal pronouns suffix directly to this preposition in Canaanite (Hebrew, *bēnēnû* ‘between us’ Gen 26:28) and Aramaic (e.g., *bynyn*, Cowley 1923: 5.13, 14; 28.14).²⁵ Thus, the morphology of this Phoenician case is consistent with the morphology attested in cognate languages.

Sentence Four

The fourth sentence, *grl p my* ‘Its allotment (of land) is here to the water’, specifies the location of the stele itself. The stele may have marked a boundary of the land granted to the militia who aided Nora.

grl /*gūrlōl*/ ‘its allotment (of land)’. Albright (1941: 20) proposed the reading *reš* at the end of line 7. This reading was adopted by Dupont-Sommer (1948: 18), Février (1950), van den Branden (1962: 286, 288), and Lipiński (2004: 240). The very similar shape of the *reš*es in lines 1, 2, and 3 is unmistakable. The reading *reš* also eliminates the slight oddity of having two different types of *dalet* in the same inscription. The text is actually uniform in differentiating *dalet* and *reš*.

The noun *grl* is attested in CID 1AB–2AB.²⁶ The antecedent of the pronominal suffix is *šb*⁷ (line 5). Relevant uses of Biblical Hebrew *gôrel* include, for example, Josh 15:1; 17:1, 14, 17; 21:38. The situation implied in the text appears to have involved a heritable grant without express obligations.²⁷

p /*pōl*/ ‘here’ (*loc.*). The particle *p* is a locative adverb, spelled in Latin letters *pho* (Poen. 932; see DNWSI 902 s.v. *ph*; PPG³ 177 [§248a]). The cognate Hebrew adverb is *pōh* ‘here, at this place’. Note also Amarna Canaanite *p[u]-û*

23. Compare HALOT 729 s.v.: ‘guilt’. The relevance of Samalian *nšh* (KAI 214.28, 29) is difficult to determine (DNWSI 760). J. Tropper (1993: 90–91) follows the generally accepted derivation from Akkadian *nīšu* but considers the etymology uncertain.

24. The interpretation of the words *bn* . . . *wbn* (KAI 30.4) as a case of the preposition *ben*, equivalent to Hebrew *bēn* . . . *ûbēn*, is problematic (e.g., PPG³ 179 [§250] “unsicher”).

25. DNWSI 153 s.v. *byn*₂.

26. DNWSI 235; Krahmalkov 2000: 143. The nominal pattern is **qāṭalu*, Phoenician *qotōl* (PPG³ 136 [§198a]).

27. This terminology will be explained further below.

(EA 104.53; Böhl 1909: 71, §34.A.a), and Ugaritic *p* (CAT 2.10.12; Parker 1967: 95, 97; Aartun 1974: 4).

my lmayyāl ‘to the water’. The noun *mēm* ‘water’ is attested in the absolute state in Phoenician in the expression *lg mm*, which I interpret as ‘water flask’ (cf. Dothan 1985: 83, line 5; 88), and possibly in Latino-Punic (Plautus, *Poenulus* 1142; see Krahmalkov 2000: 292–93 s.v. *mm*). The spelling *my* involves the stem */māy-/* ‘water’ (concerning the stem, see Fronzaroli 1965: 135, 140, 146 [table, no. 3.21]).²⁸ The spelling *my* in the Nora inscription represents the stem with the directional/locative suffix */-a/*. In Hebrew, the directional/locative suffix implies direction but not necessarily movement (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 185–86, §10.5).

Capo di Pula, where Hintz found the Nora stele, is a small peninsula on the southeastern coast of Sardinia. Joined to the island by a narrow isthmus, the cape extends south and east, with a promontory near its eastern shore.²⁹ The stele was found between this promontory and the sea. The text’s last two words, *p my* ‘here to the water’ (or perhaps ‘waterward’), describe this location succinctly. The stele perhaps commemorated the spot where the land grant ceremony was conducted. It may have been one of several stelae telling a more complete story, as some past interpreters have maintained.³⁰

Paleography

The paleographic date of the Nora stele is not my primary concern in this study, but recently published material warrants limited comments on the question. Arri could not date the script paleographically, nor was Gesenius in a position to do so. Even Lidzbarski (1898: 120, 177) merely noted the similarity of the script to that of the Mesha inscription and observed that its zig-zag *m* and *š* place it in the period before the 6th century B.C.E. Dussaud (1924: 147, 151–52, 156), comparing the script of Kilamuwa, dated the script to the end of the 9th century. Albright (1941: 20) argued for the period ca. 925–825 B.C.E. (Euting’s facsimile of the Nora stele inscription [1871: 27 and table xxxiv, no.

28. The stem may be attested in Punic in the (possible) compound word *myśms*, also spelled *mśms* (CIS 270–75, 290, 4908, 4909), which combines the orthographic elements *m(y)* ‘water’ and *yśms/pśms* ‘to be carried’ (Good 1986: 101). As Schorch observes (2003: 404 n. 28, 410 n. 55), the proposed etymology has not found many adherents.

29. Extensive contemporary bibliography (to 2001) can be found at the Nora archaeological site’s website: <http://www.nora.it/biblio.htm>. Excavations since 1990 are reported in Tronchetti 2002 (not seen). Finocchi (1999) painstakingly surveyed the archaeology of the ancient harbor of Nora. The earliest amphorae reported (Finocchi 2000) date to the late 8th century B.C.E.

30. For classical testimonies concerning Phoenician settlement on the island, see Perra (1993: 53–57).

1], used by Albright, was an important witness to the state of the text nearly a century after its discovery but has less independent value in consideration of excellent photographs available today.) Peckham's study (1972: 466–67) remained laconic concerning the paleographic date, depending on historical interpretation of the presumed situation recounted in the text rather than comparison of letter forms to support a date in the early 9th century B.C.E. Cross (1972: 14; 1986: 118, "ca. 825 [B.C.E.]") has maintained a 9th-century date near the lower limit of the range designated by Albright. Cross's date follows from his interpretation of the final line as a reference to Pygmalion, king of Tyre. McCarter (1975b: 43) also dates the stele with reference to the reign of Pygmalion (831–785 B.C.E.). Teixidor (1986: 254–55) points out difficulties with Cross's view.

Röllig (1982: 127) defends a similar date, somewhat earlier than 825 B.C.E. The comparative paleographic study by Amadasi (in Amadasi Guzzo and Guzzo 1986) establishes a range of about a century, from ca. 830 to ca. 730 B.C.E. The irregular *mem* in line 4 is significant in this determination (*ibid.*, 66). Zuckerman (1991: 273 n. 11) endorses Peckham's statement that the *mem* in line 4 is "typologically identical with the other *mem*'s of the inscription" (Peckham 1972: 458). Zuckerman's significant discussion of the stance and orientation of the letters *mem* and *nun* demonstrates in part that the third stroke of the *mem* in line 4 descends to a nearly horizontal fourth stroke. Red chalking may have significantly distorted the letter's appearance in older photographs (Zuckerman 1991: 297).

Alberto della Marmora made the copy of the inscription published by Arri (1834: 106).³¹ Della Marmora's copy clearly shows that the *mem* has a descending fourth stroke ("right shoulder," in Peckham's terms) visible to various degrees in all photographs of the stone (including the photograph published by Zuckerman).

The first stroke of this *mem* descends to the left at an angle approximating 45 degrees; the second stroke rises somewhat and extends just to the right of the beginning point of the first stroke. The third stroke is shorter and descends to the right; the fourth stroke descends slightly to the right. Stroke five drops leftward, leaving a large open angle resembling a curve. Peckham's typology—developed from later examples—treats the descent of the right shoulder as an indicator of semiformal ductus (1968: 158–59).

31. The copy is signed by della Marmora. Arri's paper was read to the academy on March 14, 1834. Gesenius also mentions della Marmora as the draftsman: "apographum ab Alberto della Marmora factum" (1837b: 154). The copy that Arri published four years later is very different and appears to have been his own attempt (1839: 351–84, pl. 4).



Fig. 1. Tyre Stele 17.

The newly published funerary stelae from the Tyre necropolis show at least one example (Sader 2005: 43, fig. 24, stele 17) of archaic *mem* with similarly semiformal ductus. The inscription on Tyre stele 17 (Sader 2005: 43, fig. 24, reproduced here as fig. 1) is dated by Sader to “the 9th or early 8th century.” The inscription’s first letter is a *mem* that has “a shaft strongly tilting to the right while its head is quite irregular” (p. 43). The fourth stroke (the “shoulder” in Peckham’s terminology) rises from the bottom of the third (or central) stroke to meet the top of the fifth stroke (the “shaft,” in Peckham’s terminology), their intersection slightly higher than the beginning of the second stroke. The irregularity of form that this example manifests is of a different character from the irregularity of the *mem* in line 4 of the Nora stela. Nonetheless, its irregularity serves to instruct us not to anticipate absolute uniformity of expression in the lapidary form of this letter in inscriptions of comparable date.

Newly discovered inscriptions from the Iberian peninsula provide important chronological control of the epigraphic date. Inscription no. 4 from Huelva is fragmentary, but the letters *bet*, *gimel*, *kap*, and *šin* are well preserved (González de Canales, Serrano, and Garrido 2000, pl. 4a–b).³² Ceramic dating and paleographic dating point to the period ca. 800 B.C.E. for these finds. The three-stroke *kap* of Huelva 4, with its drop-line third stroke, is formally similar to the *kap* in the Carthage gold medallion (also called a pendant).³³ The *kap* in the Nora stele is an earlier form, with three strokes but with a V-shaped head

32. The epigraphist is M. Heltzer.

33. Peckham (1968: 124) dates the Carthage pendant inscription ca. 700 B.C.E. Amadasi Guzzo (1990a: 197) follows this dating as well. The *kap* of Huelva 4 supports a date ca. 800–750 for the Carthage pendant. (I thank Fethi Chelbi, Director of the Carthage Museum, Tunisia, for permission to examine the Carthage gold pendant with a magnifier to verify its miniscule letter-forms more precisely.) See Schmitz 2008 [2009]: 170–71, for a detailed comparison of the letter *kap* in Huelva 4 and the same letter in the Carthage gold medallion.

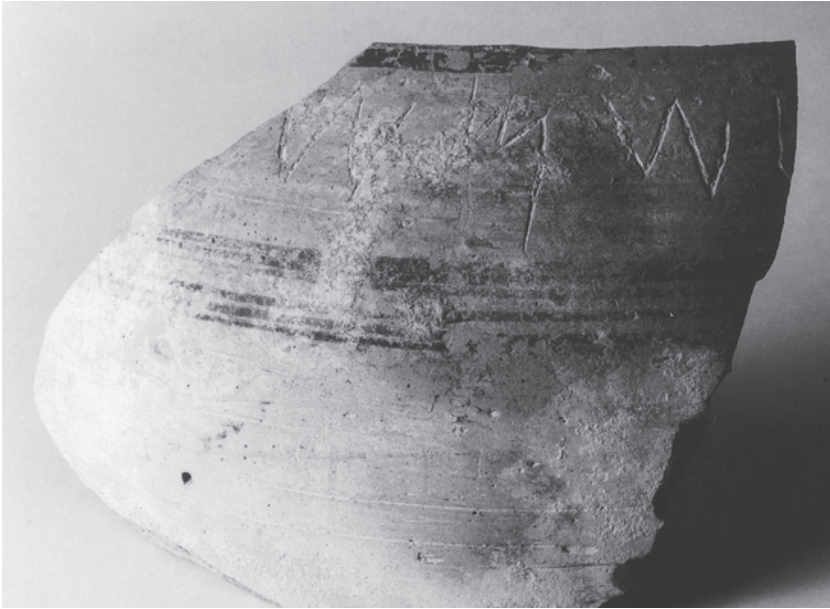


Fig. 2. Inscribed krater fragment from Tambourit (?). Used by permission of Frank Sternberg.

(Peckham 1968: 152). The *kaps* of the Kilamuwa inscription (ca. 825 B.C.E.) are very similar, indicating that the Nora script is roughly contemporary with the Kilamuwa script.

The *šins* of Huelva 4 are virtually identical to those of the incised linear forms on Wolfe and Sternberg's krater no. 8 (1989: 11; see fig. 2). The Nora stele script is in my judgment formally anterior to either Huelva 4 or Wolfe and Sternberg's krater no. 8 (fig. 2). Thus, Huelva 4 appears to set a lower limit of ca. 800 for the letter forms of the Nora stele.³⁴

Another comparable inscription, on an agate scaraboid (WSS 738) reading *lhdy*, is probably of later 9th-century date.³⁵ The *yod* in the text of WSS 738 (fig. 3) is rounded in a manner similar to the shape of the *yod* in line 3 of the

34. Garbini (1979: 55 n. 14) dated the Nora stele to the 7th century (!). The Bosa fragment, dated by Garbini to the end of the 8th century (1983: 160) is, in Garbini's opinion, somewhat earlier than the Nora stele. Garbini recently (1999: 11) implies an 8th-century date for Phoenician contact with Sardinia, and more recently (2006: 90) dates the Nora stele inscription to the end (!) of the 8th century B.C.E. This view, which presumes a cultural lag in the transmission of letter forms from east to west, is now vitiated by the archaeologically dated Iberian inscriptions.

35. Bordreuil (1986: 19–20, no. 1); enlarged color photograph and impression: E. Gubel (1986: 219, no. 245); impression: WSS 738).

Fig. 3. AO 9048 (WSS 738) detail. Photograph courtesy Musée du Louvre.



archaic Cyprus inscription (*KAI* 30), and the *yod* on the seal has a vertical stance like its Cypriote parallel. The *yod* in the Nora stele (line 8) is similarly curved and upright. The *dalet* has a short vertical stroke extending only slightly below the lower corner. The Nora stele and the archaic Cyprus inscription (*KAI* 30) have similarly shaped *dalets*. The vertical stance is compatible with a paleographic dating ca. 850–825 B.C.E.³⁶

Stele 7 from the necropolis of Tyre (Sader 2005: 31–32) dates to the 9th century B.C.E. (cf. Amadasi Guzzo 1993: 159). The *ʾalep* is similar to the examples in lines 2, 3, and 4 of the Nora stele, but with a larger opening to the left of the vertical stroke. The three occurrences of *taw* all have the *x*-shape comparable to the shape of the *taws* in lines 1 and 6 of the Nora stele (Sader [2005: 32] considers this feature significant). The four-stroke *šin* is comparable to the first letter of line 7 of the Nora stele. The *lamed* is curved, like the first letter of line 4 of the Nora stele. The *reš* has a large triangular head and a slight rightward tilt, similar to the third letter of line 2 of the Nora stele. The shape of the *reš* also matches the last letter of line 7 of the Nora stele, although the vertical stance of the letter in the Nora inscription is distinct.

Physical features of the Tyrian stelae are also notably similar to the Nora stele: the use of local soft stone from the coastal area; the deep incision and large letters of the inscription; and the absence of formal indicators of word boundaries. The stele from Nora and the archaic Tyre necropolis stelae represent a common script tradition and related canons of layout and incision.³⁷ These additional common features witness to the close alliance of the Nora stele with epigraphic practice in the Phoenician homeland.

Cross's date of ca. 825 B.C.E. finds broad support from the recent comparative examples discussed above. Although Cross ultimately bases his argument not on paleographic grounds but on a historical interpretation of the text—an interpretation not supported by my analysis—the new comparative evidence does not dislodge his conclusion. The new data additionally satisfy the concerns of both Amadasi Guzzo and Zuckerman to account for the *mem* in line 4. In my view, the evidence implies a date not far from 825 B.C.E.

36. Herr (1998: 57) dates WSS 738 to the first half of the 8th century, but in my judgment the parallels support an earlier date.

37. On the distinction between *ordinare* and *sculperre*, see Susini (1973: 9–13, 30–33) and Mazza (1978).

Cultural Implications

In the third and fourth sentences of the text, we encounter a transaction of a type well known in the later history of Rome: a grant of land in payment for military service. Economic vocabulary is rare in epigraphic Phoenician and Punic, and words signifying credit and implying interest-bearing debt are infrequent.³⁸ Michael Hudson (1992), arguing from early Greek and Italian employment of Phoenician weights and measures as well as from the “outsider” social status of Phoenician creditors, makes a diffusionist case that Phoenicians transmitted economic practices involving interest-bearing debt to the Greek and Italian cultural spheres. While the Nora stele is not easily claimed as proof of this thesis, it does provide early evidence of a transaction that appears to involve the creditor’s acceptance of military assistance in payment for a debt.

This type of transaction has Late Bronze Age antecedents in the Levant, such as royal deeds of conveyance by the kings of Ugarit (Márquez Rowe 2006). An important distinction within this category of deeds is whether they stipulate service obligations in return for the grant (Márquez Rowe 2006: 234–38). Some deeds include clauses exempting the recipient from service (pp. 238–39), taxes (pp. 239–40), and royal mobilization (pp. 240–41).³⁹ A heritability phrase (pp. 249–51) may guarantee the right of descendants to remain in possession of the property or limit the duration of possession (pp. 251–53). Libolt (1985: 401–5) determined that at Ugarit recipients of heritable grants are never court officials and that grants without express obligations are rewards or gifts for service performed.

The Nora stele is clearly not a deed but a memorial. The text contains no heritability phrase or stipulations regarding service or tax obligations. These omissions suggest that the conveyance it recalls was in perpetuity and without express obligations. The text further shares one formal feature with the Ugaritic royal deeds. As a rule, Ugaritic royal deeds of conveyance include a description of the real property conveyed (Márquez Rowe 2006: 224–27). The description is usually laconic (p. 224). “Laconic” could also describe the fourth sentence of the Nora stele, *grl p my* ‘Its allotment (of land) is here to the water’. Mindful of cultural differences between Ugarit and the later Phoenician diaspora, we can yet envision in this sentence a Phoenician(-inspired?) version of an older Syro-Canaanite legal formula and a corresponding royal practice.

38. On Phoenician *ʿrbn* ‘deposit’, see Garbini (1991: 228 and n. 11); cf. Krahmalkov (2000: 301, 386).

39. On permanent exemptions from *pilku*-service, see Márquez Rowe (2006: 253).

Historical Implications

To judge the historical implications of this new interpretation of the Nora stele inscription, consider the discussion of the text by Aubet (2001: 206–9).⁴⁰ The text, in Aubet’s interpretation, commemorates the building of a temple (Phoenician *bt*, the first two letters of line 1)⁴¹ dedicated to the god *Pmy* in Sardinia. Significant historical weight attaches to the presence of this deity at Nora, particularly implied cultural influence from Cyprus (Aubet 2001: 207–8). According to the interpretation I have presented above, however, “Tarshish” is possibly the location from which auxiliaries arrived, but its identity is still unknown.⁴² In my own view, there is probably no other proper name in the text except “Sardinia.” There is no mention of a deity *Pmy* in the text and no veiled reference to Pygmalion. No Cypriote connection is implied, although none is excluded either. No reference to a temple or building activities can be established. What does accrue from this new translation is the “broad context” that Aubet rightly deems necessary before the Nora stele inscription can “affect our view of the chronology of Phoenician colonization in the west” (2001: 209).

The Nora stele inscription’s paleographic date places it, with respect to Egyptian chronology, in the midst of the 22nd Dynasty, late in the reign of Osorkon II (877–838 B.C.E.) or during the (overlapping) reigns of Takelot II (841–815 B.C.E.) and Shoshenq III (838–798 B.C.E.). Year 11 of Takelot II (830 B.C.E.) was marked by the insurrection of Pedubast I (c. 830–805 B.C.E.), recounted in the “Chronicle of Prince Osorkon” at Karnak (Caminos 1958).⁴³ We have no direct knowledge whether effects of this disturbance reached the western Mediterranean.

An alabaster amphora inscribed with the cartouche of Osorkon II excavated with Phoenician ivories at Samaria (Reisner 1924: 247, pl. 56g; 334, fig. 205)⁴⁴ probably attests to Bubastite trade or diplomatic relations with the Omride court. Similar alabaster amphoras excavated in the “Laurita” necropolis at Almuñécar (Pellicer Catalan 1962, 1985, 2002) are inscribed with the cartouches of Osorkon II, Takelot II, and Shoshenq III (Gamer-Wallert 1978: 38–39, Taf.

40. Aubet, who is primarily an archaeologist, not a linguist or epigraphic specialist, does not provide a complete reading and translation of the text but only translates selected passages.

41. A line of interpretation originating with Gesenius (1837b). Lipiński (2004: 234 n. 50) discusses the orthographic problems with Gesenius’s interpretation.

42. See p. 17 n. 11 above. As mentioned there, it is possible that Phoenician *tršš* designated a type of ship.

43. Regnal years follow Dodson and Hilton (2004: 292).

44. Culican (1970: 31 n. 28) observes that the flat base restored in the drawing is probably incorrect.

7a–d; Padró 1980–85: 3.50–65; García Martínez 2001: 2.48–53; Aubet 2001: 331–34, figs. 97–99). Similar vessels have been found in Phoenician sites of the Atlantic coast: Cadiz, Castillo de Doña Blanca, and Huelva (Martin Ruiz 1995: 60, fig. 30; p. 89, figs. 64–65; p. 90, figs. 66–67; 170–76; García Martínez 2001: 2.51–52). Altogether, about 50 complete jars and 20 fragments, all in contexts dated to the 7th century B.C.E., have been found in Phoenician sites in the west (López Castro 2006: 78). The western alabaster amphoras are difficult to interpret.⁴⁵ Were they received as royal gifts by the royal house of Sidon and later dispersed?⁴⁶ The date of the tombs in which the alabaster amphoras were found is too late for direct influence of the 22nd Dynasty on the Phoenician settlements in Iberia (Aubet 2001: 333–34). The alabaster vessels “would seem to have been in circulation for some time” before they reached that destination (Merrillees 2003: 38). Their number, however, makes it implausible to suppose that all of them were recycled booty (López Castro 2006: 79). López Castro (2006: 80–84) interprets them as Egyptian diplomatic gifts and considers their distribution evidence that Phoenician aristocrats from Levantine cities were widely dispersed in Aegean and western Mediterranean settlements.

Hölbl (1986: 1.16) remarks that it is from the 22nd Dynasty period that Egyptian cultural products begin to appear in the Phoenician homeland in abundance and relatively quickly spread westward to southern Spain and early Carthage. Hölbl further observes that Nora lay apart from the main trade routes (1986: 1.67; see also Lo Schiavo 2003), making the archaic Phoenician inscriptions found there all the more interesting. The location of Nora on the southeastern shore of Sardinia was most accessible to ships traveling the Tyre-Tartessos long-distance route (Aubet 2001: 186–90). Ships harboring at Mozia or Carthage could head west only against headwinds from autumn through winter; in spring and summer the “Ghibli” sirocco would carry them north to Sardinia in about two days’ sailing (Díes 2004: 59, 73). From Sardinia, eight days’ sail brought them to Ibiza (Díes 2004: 73). Ships traveling the Tartessos-

45. The three inscribed amphoras refer, according to Padró’s interpretation (1980–85: 3.50), to sacred wine used in the worship of Hathor. Padró concludes that all of the alabaster amphoras originally held wine.

46. In 677 B.C.E., Esarhaddon suppressed a coalition led by Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sizu, and Abdimilkutti, king of Sidon, perhaps with Egyptian cooperation. After conquering Sidon and destroying its walls, Esarhaddon took considerable plunder (*ANET* 291). Culican (1970: 30) drew attention to two alabaster amphoras found at Assur, noting their similarity with the alabaster vessels from Almuñécar. One of the Assur alabaster amphoras is inscribed in cuneiform, in part, “Palace of Esarhaddon . . . from the treasure of prince Abdimilkuti, King of Sidon” (*ARAB* 2.511, §721). Katzenstein (1974: 265) mentions the Assur amphoras and places the coalition in the context of Tyrian-Sidonian relations with Assyria. Markoe (2000: 43) broadens the context. G. Lehmann (2005) discusses the ceramic typology.

Tyre route would have had to make a northerly detour to run along the southern coast of Sardinia, a course made difficult by prevailing winds from the east and safer in summer (Aubet 2001: 190–91; Díes 2004: 74–76).

With respect to Mesopotamian chronology, the Nora stele falls in the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), who extended his domination to the Syro-Lebanese coast (Van de Mieroop 2006: 227; Miller and Hayes 2006: 292–311; Chavalas 2006: 289–93). Aubet maintains that “there was no systematic plan of conquest and Phoenicia had no place in the main objectives of this Assyrian ruler” (2001: 90), but this view may overlook an important aspect of the relationship. Assyrian hegemony catalyzed a unique role for the Syro-Palestinian littoral (Frankenstein 1979), because the landlocked empire lacked access to the sea, and the Phoenicians provided it. The Phoenicians’ “skills as shipwrights and seafarers” provided a form of tribute. “As the purveyors of merchandise that brought wealth into the Assyrian empire, the Phoenicians were politically administered by their overlords in an atypical manner” (Trakadas 1999: 1).

The Nora stele as I have interpreted it implies that an alliance already existed between the narrators—either nuraghic Sardinians or Phoenician metics at Nora—and more distant partners, perhaps from Tarsus or Tarshish. Our knowledge of Phoenician interstate alliances in the archaic period is largely conjectural. Speculating about a possible pact between Phoenicians and Tartessians leading to the foundation of Cádiz, Tejera Gaspar (1996) adduces four literary examples of the range of processes that Phoenicians employed in forming alliances with alien groups. The first is Virgil’s account of the stratagem by which Dido acquired land at Carthage (*Aen.* 1.367–68), and the near marriage-alliance from which the Phoenician queen escaped by suicide (Tejera Gaspar 1996: 369–70). Second (p. 370) is the narrative in Hanno’s *Periplus* (Codex Palatine Graecus 398 fol. 55r.25–29)⁴⁷ of the Carthaginians’ sojourn near the mouth of the river Lixus, where “with them we stayed for a while and became friends” (Oikonomides 1977: 25). The third is analogous, being the story of Phocaean amity with Arganthonius, king of Tartessos (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.163). Fourth is the mutual aid pact that Hannibal made (Polybius 42.4, 68.1) with *insubres* encountered in the Alps (Tejera Gaspar 1996: 371).

To the literary examples of Phoenician alliances already mentioned, I add two epigraphic examples. The first is from an Anatolian inscription: *wyp^l bhlb [šl]m w[] [m]mlkt ʾšr* ‘and he made peace at Aleppo and [?] the Kingdom of Assyria’ (KAI 23.5–6 [Lemaire 1983:11]). The second is from Carthage: the Punic formula *št šlm dl* ‘establish peace with’ (KAI 302.10b–11a). The context of this example is military, involving the cessation of hostilities after the

47. For an introduction to this manuscript, see Mund-Dopchie 2003.

Carthaginian sack of Akragas in western Sicily (Schmitz 1994: 11–13). The text is from the Persian period and represents a much later stage of diplomatic practice. Although minimally informative, this example removes any doubt that the diplomatic process normally followed after interstate conflict among the western Phoenicians.

If the arriving force implied at the beginning of the Nora stele was Phoenician, it could have had three points of origin: the eastern Mediterranean basin, perhaps via Tarsus in Cilicia but possibly originating in Tyre or Kition; the North African coast, probably Utica or Carthage; or Iberia, probably Huelva. Recent C¹⁴ dates from Carthage suggest late 9th-century occupation (Docters al. 2006: 39). There is also evidence of early Phoenician occupation at Huelva in the same period (González de Canales, Serrano, and Garrido 2000). A force from the North African coast would have faced a 2-day sail with favorable winds. A force from Tartessos would have endured at least 12 days of hard sailing and probably considerable rowing as well.

Postcolonial discussion of the encounter between Phoenicians and indigenous populations in the West has begun to emphasize the negotiated quality of the contact process (González-Ruibal 2006). Recipients of the colonial gaze may not be identifiable by name or personality, but they can be ascribed agency through careful research (Given 2004: 13–20; Gosden 2004: 3, 64). Perhaps the reading of the Nora stele defended above provides a glimpse of nameless members of a nuraghic community in Sardinia as agents in their cooperation with Phoenician allies.

Nothing in the Nora stele text itself requires that the narrative “voice” be Phoenician. The script and language is clearly Phoenician, but the stele could have been commissioned by a member of the indigenous Sardinian aristocracy to commemorate the events referred to in the text. The Nora stele remains, however, evidence of Phoenician expansion westward and a witness to early Phoenician interaction with indigenous European societies.⁴⁸ The text of the stele can now be counted as a significant example of early Phoenician narrative.

48. See further Botto (2005).

Chapter 3

Three Phoenician “Graffiti” at Abu Simbel (CIS I 112)

The two rock temples built by Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, 280 kilometers south of the first cataract of the Nile at Aswan, are awesome products of the technical and aesthetic genius of Egypt. The Great Temple was dedicated to the gods Amon-Re and Re-Harakhte and appears to have celebrated the pharaoh in his divinized aspect (Habachi 1969: 1–10). Flanking the temple entrance are two pairs of seated figures of Ramesses of colossal proportion, measuring 20 meters high. The smaller temple to the north, dedicated to Ramesses’ consort Nefertari, is adorned on its facade with 10-meter statues of the king and queen. The site was a stopping place for travelers of every sort in antiquity, and, since their rediscovery by Europeans in 1813, the temples have been on the itineraries of tourists and scholars of every nation (Christophe 1965). Many who stopped left a text behind, carved into the sandstone at an accessible spot. This chapter is concerned with texts left by visitors who wrote in Phoenician.¹

The four colossi in front of the Great Temple are conventionally numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4 from south to north. Colossi 1 and 2, which are to the left of the entrance to the Great Temple, carry on their sandstone shins and calves a group of inscriptions in Carian, Ionian Greek, and Phoenician. Some of these were left by participants in the famous Nubian campaign of Psametik (Psammetichus) II, which took place in 593 B.C.E.² The best-known inscription relating to

Author’s note: An early version of this chapter was presented as a paper in the Northwest Semitic Epigraphy Group at the 1988 annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion / Society of Biblical Literature in Chicago. Ziony Zevit offered constructive criticism for which I remain grateful. Comments from the late Michael O’Connor improved the syntactic argument. Responsibility for the interpretation argued herein remains my own.

1. Inundation from the Aswan dam made it necessary to move the two temples to higher ground. The project was begun in 1964 and completed in 1968. The Ministry of Culture, Arab Republic of Egypt (1971) reports technical details of the move. More photographic coverage of the project can be found in Desroches-Noblecourt and Gerster (1968); see also Leclant (1986: 686–701).

2. On the campaign, see Sauneron and Yoyotte (1952), Bakry (1967), Lichtheim (1980: 84–86), Kienitz (1953: 39–45), Leclant (1981). Spalinger (1981) discusses Egyptian arma-

this campaign is a large text in Ionian Greek incised on the outside of the left calf of Colossus 1 (the southernmost of the four). Published as *CIG* 5126, it has been subjected to intensive study. It was recopied (Bernard and Aly 1962) and republished (Bernard and Masson 1957; Meiggs and Lewis 1975, no. 7).³

On the outside of the right calf of Colossus 2 (thus facing the major Greek inscription) are several lines in Phoenician letters.⁴ The Phoenician inscriptions were copied by J. J. Ampère in 1845 and discussed by de Saulcy in 1846. Richard Lepsius had copied the texts in 1843 or 1844, but his copies remained unpublished until 1860 (Lepsius 1973). They are of astonishing accuracy, the more impressive when one considers that Phoenician epigraphy had barely entered its second generation at the time.⁵

About 1866, Théodule Deveria prepared squeezes of the Phoenician texts; photographs of these appeared among the plates accompanying the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (nos. 111–13; table 20). The transcription, translation, and interpretation found in *CIS* can only be considered incomplete and provisional, however.

Renan analyzed the inscription as four separate graffiti, which he labeled (clockwise from the top) *a*, *b*¹, *b*², and *c*¹; another inscription identical to the first line of *c*¹ was called *c*². He interpreted each graffito as consisting of a personal name with patronymic followed by some unintelligible statement presumably having to do with the role of each of the persons named.

Lidzbarski (1898: 1.423; *KI*, 37 no. 43) improved on Renan's reading of *CIS* I 112 *c*¹, recognizing that the final letter of that text is a *samek* and not a *he*. Slouschz (1942: 62–64) adopted this improved reading but did not extend it to the other alleged occurrence of *he* in the putative name *grhkl* with which *CIS* I 112 *b*¹ and *b*² begin. Mentz (1944: 56) also recognized the reading *samek*

ment and military organization. The campaign was formerly thought have taken place in 591 B.C.E. The date 593 B.C.E. is now widely accepted; see Kitchen (1986: 406, §368 n. 962) and Török (1997: 67, 360 and n. 103). On the Greek presence in Egypt and participation in the campaign, see Boardman (1999: 115–17).

3. Because the Carian script remains incompletely deciphered (Melchert 2004), I have not considered the Carian inscriptions from Abu Simbel. Carians and Ionians are mentioned together in an Aramaic letter fragment from Saqqara (Segal 1983b: 26).

4. There is another line of Phoenician (*CIS* I 113) lower down on the shin of the same leg.

5. The hand copies published by Graham (1862) are now curiosities of only historical interest. He was unaware that the inscriptions had been published 13 years earlier. His copies are faulty and cannot readily be identified with actual lines in the inscription, with the exception of his no. 3, which is *CIS* I 112 *c*²; his nos. 2, 6, 7, and 8 represent portions of *CIS* I 112 *b*¹, *b*², and *c*¹. Three years later, O. Blau (1865) published a hand copy from a squeeze made by Lepsius and placed at his disposal. The copy is accurate, though in some respects less so than Lepsius's own.

but retained the reading *grhkl*. Magnanini (1973: 61–63) follows the text of *CIS* without Lidzbarski's improved reading, but degraded by the introduction of ellipsis points suggesting more vacant space than is actually present on the stone and by the replacement of an unambiguous *kap* with *bet* in the second line of 112 *b^l* (is this a typographical error?).⁶

The first task facing the contemporary epigrapher is to establish the correct reading of each letter of the Phoenician inscriptions at Abu Simbel (fig. 4). In August 1995, I examined the inscriptions in situ. My reading is based on that firsthand collation and examination of my own photographs and the photograph of Devaria's squeeze published in *CIS* (table 20). While this photo leaves much to be desired, it does, I believe, help to support several new readings. The hand copy representing my reading of the text is presented here as fig. 4.

The form of the letter *samek*, with its top two horizontal strokes stopping at the vertical and only the bottom stroke crossing the horizontal (figs. 5), is derived from cursive script. It was read as a *he* by Renan. Lidzbarski recognized it in one critical occurrence, the last letter of text *c^l*. It should also be read as the third letter of the two texts labeled *b*.

Differentiating *dalet* and *reš* is difficult, as is often the case in reading Phoenician inscriptions. The best reading depends as much on context as on formal features of the letters themselves.

The most difficult reading follows the first *bet* of text *b²*. What was taken by *CIS* as an exaggerated *nun* (and so copied in later handbooks) is a pair of letters: a *dalet* followed by a *lamed*. The “nose” of the *dalet* touches the hook of the *lamed* (fig. 4).⁷

Even with these improved readings, *CIS* I 112 remains a challenging text. The difficulty arises in part from the arrangement of the text. Text *a* is above and to the left of *c^l*; to the right of *c^l* is *b^l*. Below *c^l* and extending to the left of it is *b²*. Text *a* appears to have been inscribed by a different hand than the *b* and *c* texts.

The ductus of *CIS* I 112*a* is heavy, and some letters, particularly *bet*, *het*, *mem*, and *S*, are cursive forms.⁸ In contrast, *CIS* I 112 *b^{l-2}* and *c^l* are executed in a fine hand of lighter weight, more consistently upright stance, and more regular letter spacing. It would perhaps not be an overstatement to call the script of these lines monumental.

6. The copies of the Phoenician texts published by Bernard and Aly (1962), labeled D9jD viii (= *c^l*), ix (= *b²*), and x (= *b^l*), are exceptionally poor and should not be consulted.

7. Lepsius's copy shows the two angled strokes outlining the head of the dalet; he has not carried the ascender of the lamed as high as it actually can be traced.

8. On cursive letter forms in Phoenician, see Garbini (1979: 54–60).

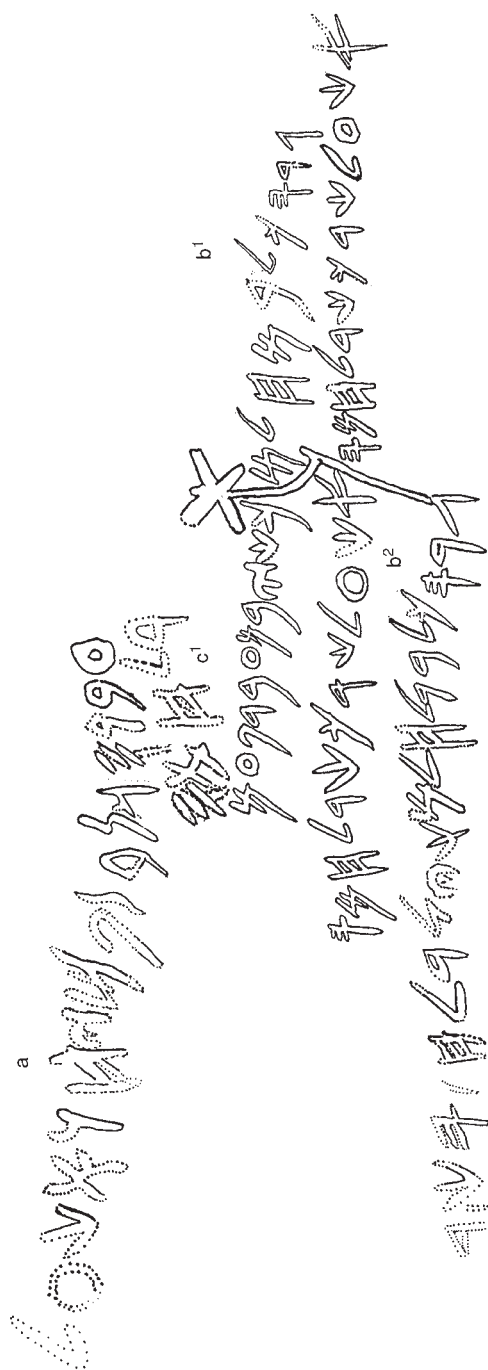


Fig. 4. C/IS I 112 (Abu Simbel). Hand copy by P. C. Schmitz.



s m ḥ

Fig. 5. Letter *samek* from Abu Simbel graffito.

hms = (A)ḥmose

I believe that *CIS I 112* consists of two distinct text groups: the *a* text and what I will refer to as the *b-c* complex. Are they related? If so, how? My own hypothesis is that the *a* text was inscribed after the *b-c* complex. I say this because the last letter of the *a* text is aligned directly above the last letter of the first line of 112 *c*¹. I infer from this fact that the text of *c*¹ had already been inscribed when *a* was begun. My working assumption is that the *a* text is essentially derivative from the *b-c* complex. I will proceed with an interpretation of the *b-c* complex. Let me begin with lexical observations followed by comments on the syntax of each text. In translations below, *italic* indicates an uncertain translation; parentheses enclose words necessary in the translation but not indicated in the Phoenician text.

*CIS I 112 b*¹

Text and Translation

- 1 *grs klbm ḥlm*
- 2 *ʾš ʿl šd kš dl ḥms*

(The) *two* armies that went up (to) the fields of Cush with Amasis crushed (the) dogs.

Lexical Observations

grs. The third letter of this word is a *samek*, not a *he* (note Peckham 1968: 161–63). The bottom horizontal crosses the vertical. Comparison of the letter in text *b*² with the last letter of text *c*¹ (which Lidzbarski read as a *samek*) shows that they are identical.

Renan read the first five letters as the name *grhkl*.⁹ Renan's interpretation required postulation of an anomalous variant **bm* of the common noun

9. At the time, the name was otherwise unattested. It also occurs in one of the Abydos graffiti (Lidzbarski 1902–15: 3.100, text *r* and pl. 18; *RES* 1356; *KAI* 49.16). Lidzbarski's reading is secure, as his hand copy demonstrates. The shape and stance of the *h* in *grhkl* is like that of the *h* in the word *hkps*, which follows it, and not like that of the *s* with which

bn ‘son’. The interpretation further produced a putative personal name, *hlm*, which remains unique. The interpretation is thus highly suspect.

The form *grs* derives from the root *g-r-š/s* ‘to crush’ (DNSWI 235). Zadok (1982: 115–16) includes a concise discussion of the root and its derivatives (cf. HALOT 204; Jastrow 1985: 270). The verb takes an animate object in one of its two occurrences in Biblical Hebrew: *gršh npšy* ‘my soul is crushed’ (Ps 119:20, Pual).

klbm. This is the plural of the common noun meaning ‘dog’. The word is found in the plural in Kilamuwa’s inscription (KAI 24.10; cf. TSSI 3.37–38) in an image of fawning servility.¹⁰ “Dog’s head” (2 Sam 3:8) seems to be an insulting canine epithet intended to incite combat between hostile parties.

Margalith (1983: 491–95) argued that two homonyms coexist in Biblical Hebrew *keleb*. One is the common noun ‘dog’; the other is a word synonymous with ‘slave/servant’. In the course of this primary argument he challenges the notion that ‘dog’ carried a derogatory nuance in ancient Hebrew. Brunet (1985) countered with biblical and comparative evidence that the servile and undignified character of the dog were foremost in ancient Near Eastern thought concerning the creatures. The loyalty of the dog as pet was not an ancient Near Eastern notion, he argues. However, Houlihan (1996: 75–80) provides numerous examples of Egyptian expressions of affection for pet dogs. Basson (2006) argues that the negative evaluation of the dog expressed in biblical portrayals was not shared by Anatolian, Egyptian, or Mesopotamian societies. (Basson does not study other Canaanite or Aramaean evidence). Burns (2000: 7) cites the charge that “the king of Byblos, Rib-Hadda, levels . . . against the king of Amurru, Abdi-Ashirta, ‘what is A[bdi]-Ash[ir]ta, the dog, that he strives to take all the cities of the king’ (EA 76, 79).”¹¹ This usage, in which a political enemy engaged in military action is denounced as a “dog,” seems closest to the usage in the Abu Simbel graffiti. Egyptian royal inscriptions also compare the behavior of subjugated foes to the (presumably servile) movements of a dog (Fischer 1980: col. 78).¹²

hlm. This word could be the predicate of a nominal sentence or the subject of a verbal sentence. Its role as subject is argued below. I interpret the form as

that word ends. KAI 49.16 is not among the Abydos graffiti photographed and copied by Kornfeld (1978b).

10. The *klbm* in the Kition tariff (CIS I 86 B 10) are generally taken to be cultic prostitutes (Masson and Sznycer 1972: 65–68).

11. See also Hutton (2003) and Riede (2002: 74–75).

12. Lisa Heidorn kindly brought to my attention Taharqa’s boast, as recorded in an inscription in his temple at Kawa, that he crushed (the word is uncertain) the rebellious foreign countries and caused them to “make the walk of dogs” (Macadam 1955: 64).

the noun *ḥēl* ‘army’ with a dual suffix.¹³ The Biblical Hebrew dual morpheme, unlike the plural, normally affixes directly to the singular stem.¹⁴

ʔš. Note that 112b² (below) employs the determinative particle š rather than the relative ʔš.

ʕl. This verb is a 3cp perfect from the root ʕ-l-y. In Biblical Hebrew, the verb ʕ-l-y is twice used appositionally (without a prepositional complement) in Genesis (35:1, 3).

šd. This is the masculine noun meaning ‘field’ or ‘plain’. It is attested in both the singular and plural in CID (singular *šd*, KAI 287.6 A+B; plural construct *bšd bkr*, 2 A+B, *šd . zbl* [twice], 4 A+B; plural šdyt 8 A+B), and in the plural construct in Punic. In Dioscorides’ *De Materia Medica*, the word occurs as part of a plant name; it is vocalized, in Greek script, *sade* (Krahmalkov 2000: 456–57 s.v. *šd* I).¹⁵

kš. The Phoenician representation of the name of the Nubian kingdom situated along the Dongola reach of the Nile between the third and fourth cataracts, south and east of Wawat, corresponds to Biblical Hebrew *kûš*, Greek *Xous*.¹⁶ Joseph Halévy (1874: 94) had recognized the geographic term *šd kš* in his discussion of the Abu Simbel graffiti; he cited the parallel Biblical Hebrew constructions *šdh mwʔb* (Ruth 1:6) and *šdh ʔrm* (Hos 12:13). Renan cited Halévy’s opinion indifferently. Slouschz (1942: 64) also understood the words as the geographic designation.

dl. This distinctively Phoenician-Punic particle, meaning ‘with’, is attested in Byblian Phoenician (KAI 10.14), perhaps on Cyprus (KAI 37.A5),¹⁷ perhaps in Tabnit’s epitaph from Sidon (KAI 13.4), and more extensively in Punic (KAI 80.1; 81.2 [5×]) and Neo-Punic (KAI 119.2). The particle is probably to be vocalized /del/ (Schmitz 2002c).

hms. As noted by Peckham (1968: 162 n. 90), this is the Phoenician spelling of the name of the Egyptian commander Ahmose.¹⁸ The name appears in the corresponding Greek inscription from Abu Simbel as *Amasis* (CIS I

13. M. O’Connor pointed out the possible relevance of Hebrew *ḥ(y)l* ‘rampart’ (personal communication).

14. GKC §88b. On the dual in Phoenician, see PPG³ §226a.

15. The Latin translation of Punic *šd* is *provincia* (Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 133–34).

16. Trigger (1976); T. Säve-Söderbergh (1980); W. Adams (1984: 268); Török (1997); Smith (2003); Edwards (2004); Redford (2004). Leclant attributes the shift of the Cushite capital to the south to the effects of Psametik II’s campaign: “It is undoubtedly to this Egyptian raid, whose importance has long been underestimated, that we must attribute the transfer of the capital from Napata to Meroe” (1986: 285).

17. To be read ‘š ʕ dl II I QR 20 according to Puech (1979: 31). Note, however, the demurrer of Amadasi Guzzo in Yon (2004: 210).

18. Not likely the later Pharaoh (570–526 B.C.E.). See Schmitz (2010: 324 n. 20).

1.135; Bresciani 1987: 258). The Egyptian form of the name is *iḥ-mš* (Ranke 1935–76: 1.12, no. 19). Phoenician spellings of Egyptian names in Phoenician and Punic are generally consistent phonetically, and the spelling of this name follows the pattern. A few examples will illustrate this fact. Phoenician *h* transcribes Egyptian *ḥ* in personal names, for example names containing the Egyptian theophoric elements *pth* (= Phoenician-Punic *pth*), *ḥr* (= Phoenician/Punic *hr*), and *ḥp* (= Phoenician/Punic *hp*) (Ribichini 1975; Lemaire 1986; Benz 1972: 192–93; Muchiki 1999: 50–54). Egyptian *ś* is transcribed with Phoenician *samek* in names containing *wśir*¹⁹ (e.g., *KAI* 48.2) and in Phoenician and Punic spellings of the name of the goddess Isis (*ʿs*, e.g., *CIS* I 6000bis.8).

The Phoenician representation of the Egyptian name *iḥ-mš* is in keeping with the attested Aramaic spelling *ʿhms* (Sachau 1911: 63.4, 6; Kornfeld 1978b: 77). The reduction of the Egyptian syllables *iḥ* to **ʾah/* is apparent in the Aramaic spelling; the Phoenician spelling shows additionally the characteristic loss of an initial syllable opened with *ʾalep* (*PPG*³ 51, §94), perhaps reflected in the Greek form *Amasis* (the variant form *Aḥmasis* reflects the Aramaic).

Syntactic Observations

grs klbm ḥlm. The V O S constituent order is uncommon but not unattested. One instance of V O S order occurs in the Karatepe portal inscription: *wylk zbh l kl hmskt* ‘and all the *mskt* (prob. ‘river valley’) bring sacrifice to him’ (*KAI* 26 A II 19–III 1; Röllig in Çambel 1999: 53).²⁰ Other examples are to be found in Punic: *ḥdš wpʿl ʾyt hmtbh z . . . ʿsr hʾšm* ‘The ten men . . . refurbished and (re)made this slaughtering place’ (*KAI* 80.1); *pth wpʿl ʾyt ḥḥš z . . . [PN]* ‘[PN] . . . opened and built this *street*’ (*KAI* 303.1)²¹; *pʿl wndr wḥdš ʾyt hgzyt st ʿbdʾšmn* ‘Abdešmun made and vowed and refurbished this *gzyt*’ (*KAI* 72 B 1–2). Neo-Punic can employ V O S syntax as well: *pʿl mlkt PN* ‘PN did work’ (Levi Della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987: 19 no. 1 [Sabratha]).

These examples illustrate the general syntactic principle that the longer constituent comes later in the sentence. In the sentence *grs klbm ḥlm*, the subject, *ḥlm* with its dependent relative clause, is the longest constituent and so final.

19. These correspondences also obtain in the Egyptian Aramaic onomasticon (Kornfeld 1978b: 28–31; Muchiki 1999).

20. Instances of V O S order involving pronominal suffixes, such as *pʿln bʿl* ‘Baal made me’ (*KAI* 26 A I 3) or the similar sentence *pʿltm hrbt bʿlt gbl* ‘The Lady, Mistress of Byblos, made me’ (*KAI* 10.2), are best bracketed.

21. For photographs, see Mahjoubi and Fantar (1966: 201); Ferron (1985: 45–78, pls. 1–2).

The translation “The two armies . . . crushed dogs” is based on this analysis of the syntax.

ʔš ʕl šd kš. The use of the verb of motion ʕ-l-y with appositional locative has a good parallel in the archaic Phoenician inscription from Cyprus: *k ʕl . hgbr . zʔ* . [ʔ]šy ‘Indeed this warrior went up (against) [Ala]shiya’ (text, Masson and Sznycer 1972: 15; restoration, Krahmalkov 2000: 370 s.v. ʕ-l-y). Biblical Hebrew also employs verbs of motion in locative clauses appositionally: ʕālēh bēl-ʔēl ‘go up (to) Bethel’ (Gen 35:1; cf. v. 3). Similar syntax occurs in sentences involving the noun *šdh*. With the Biblical Hebrew verb *y-š-ʔ*, there are three examples (Gen 27:3, Jer 6:25, Song 7:12); with *h-l-k*, one example (Gen 27:5; cf. 24:65); and with *b-r-h*, another (Hos 12:13).

CIS I 112 *c*¹ + *b*²

Text and Translation

Texts *c*¹ + *b*² have previously been interpreted as separate graffiti. The interpretation I am proposing reads them together as a single text of three lines.

- 1 *kšy bmʕbd p ʕm*
- 2 *ʔš ʕl šd kš dl ḥms*
- 3 *grs klb dl ḥlm šʕl dl ḥms šd [kš]*

1–2 Kushi, when the people that went up (to) the steppes of Kush with Amasis were serving here,

3 crushed (the) dog with the *two* armies that went up with Amasis (to) the fields [of Cush].

Lexical Observations

kšy. The first line of CIS I 112 *c*¹ also occurs as a two-line text (CIS I 112 *c*²) within a circular figure inscribed on the right shin of Colossus 2 below the texts discussed here. Renan’s reading is secure:

- 1 *kšy*
- 2 *bmʕbd p ʕm*

The lineation establishes that *kšy* is almost certainly to be separated from what follows, but Renan’s interpretation of the rest must be rejected. In light of the Phoenician graffito ʔnk *kšy* ‘I am *kšy*’ from Abu Simbel published by Friedrich (1964: 226–27; I read the second letter as *n*, not *l*), the word *kšy* can be understood as a personal name, although it is not attested as a personal name elsewhere in Phoenician (Benz 1970: 335).

bmʕbd p ʕm. Renan, assuming that what followed was a patronymic, segmented the text *bm ʕbdp ʕm* ‘son (!) of ʕbdp ʕm’. This procedure necessitated

positing the unlikely variant *bm* ‘son’ and a divinity *pʿm*. The key to this phrase is in the Greek graffito of Anaxanor of Ialysos from Abu Simbel, which mentions, “when king Psammetichus [. . .] marched his army *the first time*” (Dillon and Garland 2000: 27, translating Meiggs and Lewis 1975, no. 7.g [emphasis added]). The phrase *bmʿbd p ʿm* ‘when the people were serving here’ is a temporal clause. The relative clause distinguishes the occasion as the first Nubian campaign of Psammetichus. The preposition *b-* can introduce temporal clauses (PPG³, 180 §251). Phoenician *mʿbd* is a Yipihil participle, cognate with the Biblical Hebrew Hiphil participle *maʿābīd* (Exod 6:5). The connotation is compulsory service. The word *ʿm* ‘people’ is probably to be understood with reference to the phrase *ʿm mhnt* ‘people of the camp’, which designates a military force (Krahmalkov 2000: 378 s.v.).

CIS I 112 a

Text and Translation

- 1 *ʿbdskn bn pmyḥw ʾš ʿl šd kš*
- 2 *dl ḥms*

- 1 ‘Abdsakkon son of Pumiyahḥwi, who w[ent up (against) the fields
of Kush]
- 2 with Amasis.

Lexical Observations

pmyḥw. Previous interpreters read the second letter of the name as *taw*; close examination, however, shows the letter to be *mem*. The name is attested in Punic as well (Benz 1972: 176).

Historical Implications

The internal evidence of these Phoenician texts from Abu Simbel confirms their long-presumed association with the Nubian campaign of Psametik II (resolving the chronological uncertainty evident in Kienitz 1953: 41 n. 1; cf. Katzenstein 1974: 316). The importance of these inscriptions to the historiography of that event remains to be more fully determined. The Phoenician settlement at Memphis, referred to by Herodotus as the *Tyriōn stratopedon* ‘camp of the Tyrians’ (*Hist.* 2.112), was undoubtedly in communication with other Phoenician centers in Egypt, such as the settlement at Pithom (Tell el-Maskhuta [see chap. 4, pp. 43–53]). Some Phoenicians must have resided in Egypt as commercial agents, but Kaplan (2003: 27 n. 42) correctly emphasizes that the term *stratopedon* implies a military colony at Memphis. The Demotic “Petition

of Peteisis” mentions a voyage to Phoenicia undertaken by Psametik II (Katzenstein 1974: 316–17: ‘peaceful voyage’; cf. Briant 2002: 80–81: ‘military expedition’). Saite Egypt and Phoenicia were interdependent, and Egypt was the site of close contact among a range of West Asian communities.

The Greek inscription from Abu Simbel (Meiggs and Lewis 1975, no. 7.4) contains a statement about the division of forces under two commanders: “Potasimto led the foreigners and Amasis the Egyptians” (translation, Boardman 1999: 116). The impression of a neat division of forces along ethnic lines runs up against the evidence of the Phoenician inscriptions translated above, which clearly imply that Phoenician troops traveled to Cush with Amasis. This significant difference between two contemporary accounts of the same event raises interesting questions about Greek perception of the non-Greek ethnic groups involved in the campaign. “Prior to the Persian wars,” according to Hall, Greek self-definition was *aggregative*. “Rather than being defined ‘from without’, it was constructed cumulatively ‘from within’” (1997: 47). Similarity among Hellenes rather than difference from barbarians defined Greek identity in the Archaic period (Hall 2003).

We must ask first whether the Greek mercenaries at Abu Simbel were unaware of the composition of the forces commanded by Amasis. This possibility seems unlikely. Perhaps the word *Agyptios* (see Brown 1995: 329) in the Ionian text was intended to express residence rather than ethnic heritage. The problem with this alternative is that a criterion such as this would seem also to include the Greeks themselves, many of whom must have resided at Naukratis, as “Egyptians,” a line of reasoning clearly ruled out by the Ionian text.²² Had the Phoenicians resided in Egypt long enough that Greeks no longer regarded them as foreigners? Were the Phoenicians sufficiently assimilated to Egyptian life to be indistinguishable to Greek eyes? These are questions for future research.²³

22. The pan-Hellenic character of Naukratis in the Archaic period is evident from many material indicators (Boardman 1999: 118–33; Hall 1997: 49; Möller 2000).

23. As a first attempt, see Schmitz 2010.

Chapter 4

Phoenician Atramentary Texts from Tell el-Maskhuta

I am privileged to offer my reading and paleographic interpretation of several Phoenician inscriptions written in ink on pottery sherds from excavations conducted at Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wadi Tumilat, Egypt. John S. Holladay Jr. directed the Wadi Tumilat Project with support from the University of Toronto, the Smithsonian Institution, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the American Schools of Oriental Research, the American Research Center in Egypt, and the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. After a survey and feasibility study in 1977, excavations took place during five seasons between 1978 and 1985. The principal investigator edited a report on the 1978 and 1979 seasons (Holladay 1982). A brief report of the 1981 season appeared that year (Holladay 1981a). That report mentions (1981a: 34) that R. Theodore Lutz of the University of Toronto would begin work on the publication of the Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions discovered in the excavations. Lutz reported on his efforts in 1990. From 1991 to 1994, I corresponded with Lutz about the texts, and in 1999 he sent me photographs of selected texts, requesting that I attempt a reading and translation. Lutz's report on the inscribed sherds from the Maskhuta excavations incorporated two of my preliminary readings (Lutz 2001).¹

The readings and interpretations that follow are the result of my independent examination of the photographs. Professor Lutz bears no responsibility for the opinions expressed or conclusions reached herein.

Author's note: The author presented an earlier draft of this chapter in the Paleographical Studies in the Ancient Near East section of the annual joint meeting of the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature in Denver, Colorado, on November 18, 2001. The presentation was part of a special session in honor of Frank Moore Cross. I thank the participants for comments on my readings.

1. Lutz graciously acknowledged my readings (2001: 195 n. 18, 205 nn. 8, 10).

The Tell el-Maskhuta Excavations

Tell el-Maskhuta lies at 30°33' north latitude, 32°06' east longitude in the eastern delta of the Nile River, about 16 kilometers west of modern Ismailia (Holladay 1992). Partly excavated by Edouard Naville in 1883, the townsite saw further investigation by Jean Clédat until about 1909, and in the early 1970s by Abdul Haq, Chief Inspector of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. The Wadi Tumilat Project conducted systematic surveys of both the townsite (1981) and the entire Wadi Tumilat (1983). The townsite was subjected to multidisciplinary stratigraphic excavations in 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1985. The exemplary rigor of the excavations and the methodological breadth of interpretive studies of finds from Tell el-Maskhuta are well known (Paice 1991).

The site's earliest occupation began during the Second Intermediate Period, perhaps ca. 1750 to ca. 1625 B.C.E. (Holladay 1992: 588). The name and function of the site at this period are uncertain. After long abandonment, the site revived in the last decade of the 7th century B.C.E., probably because Pharaoh Necho II was constructing a canal through the Wadi Tumilat from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile River to the Red Sea (Redmount 1995). Inscriptions found at the site by Naville confirm that the town's Egyptian name at this time was *Per-Atum Tukw* 'Estate of Atum in Thukko' (Holladay 1992: 588). Herodotus mentions *Patoumos ten Arabien polis* (2.158), confirming that this is the city *Pitom* of Exod 1:11 in the region called *Sukkot* (Exod 12:37). Four burials of young bulls dating to the 7th century have been interpreted by Holladay as foundation sacrifices. Evidence of massive destruction not much later points to Nebuchanezzar's Egyptian campaign of 601 B.C.E. (Holladay 1992: 588). All of the Phoenician ostraca come from this 7th-century context or later.

The Phoenician Atramentary Texts

Physical description. Because Lutz (2001: esp. p. 192) has published an excellent physical description of the sherds that I am discussing here, I will reiterate only a few details pertinent to paleographic description. Of the 289 sherds that might contain alphabetic writing, about 100 warranted further study. Of these, 90% of the inscriptions are on sherds from imported amphorae (Lutz 2001: 194);² 36 (72%) of these inscriptions are written on sherds from Phoenician storage jars.

2. Lutz (2001: 195) bases the descriptions of pottery on a detailed but unpublished study of the typology of the Phoenician storage jars by Patricia Paice, who died November 28, 2005. This chapter is dedicated to her memory.

Provenance. The question of provenance is open at this time.³ As I will show, the ductus of the Phoenician letters on these sherds shows numerous similarities with other Phoenician inscriptions from Egypt. There is not sufficient evidence, however, to link these texts with a single location. There are no grounds for assuming that all of the inscribed amphorae originated in a single location.

M78-513a–c

Three body sherds from a Phoenician amphora found intact and in situ in Area L.2, House 2007, Room 2037, excavated in 1978, join to form a large curved surface nearly 30 cm wide and about 25 cm high. Covering this surface are, proceeding from the right, (1) a profile drawing of a male head and neck, (2) at least three lines of Phoenician text written in black ink, and (3) at least one additional line of atramentary text, perhaps Demotic. The amphora was part of destruction debris attributed by the excavators to the first Babylonian invasion of Egypt in 601 B.C.E. (Holladay 1981a, fig. 8; 1982: 158, pl. 46; pl. 15, fig. 21; pl. 16, fig. 22). The closely dated context imparts to the sherds considerable paleographic significance.

The amphora belongs to a type referred to in chap. 5 as a casque-shaped shoulder amphora.⁴ A close parallel is Lehmann's type 392/2 (1996, pl. 74), which corresponds to Zemer's type 13 (1977: 18 and pl. 5, no. 13 [unprovenanced]).⁵ The rim of the amphora from Tell el-Maskhuta L.2/2007/2037 is not visible in the published photograph. Lutz reports that the fabric is very similar to "crisp ware" from Tyre (e.g., Bikai 1978: 45, SJ 11). The profile is closer to Bikai's Storage Jar 9 (1978: 46). The type fits Iron IIC (722–586 B.C.E.) precisely.

In the present context I will not comment on the drawing of a face in profile on M78-513c, except to say that it should receive more attention. I will confine my remarks to the Phoenician inscription on sherd M78-513b (fig. 6).

Note. The line that I will refer to as line 1 is not the first line of writing on the sherd. Scarcely visible traces indicate that the photographer placed the measuring stick so as to obscure partly a line of Phoenician text. Just below the midpoint of the stick is a very faint letter *het*, followed to the left by what appears to be *ʾalep*, and perhaps *pe*, though this last is the merest guess. Perhaps

3. Paice (2002) addressed the question of destination of Phoenician amphorae in Egypt more directly than the question of their place of origin.

4. Also called "Sagona 7," after Sagona 1982. G. Lehmann (1996: 5) points out that Sagona's typology is in some cases insufficiently precise and assigns an impractically broad range of dates.

5. A definitive discussion of the Phoenician amphorae from Tell el-Maskhuta is not possible at this time. I refer the reader to the appendix to chap. 5 by J. Freed (pp. 43–53), who discusses the type in detail.



Fig. 6. Tell el-Maskhuta Ostrakon
M78.513b.

autopsy of the sherd would reveal more, but from Lutz's reported experience, I am doubtful.

Line 1. The text reads, *grml[k] bn šl[. . .]* 'Germilk, son of Shill[ek?]'.

Paleographic commentary. The text was written with a broad-nibbed pen cut to a nib width of about 0.33 cm. The writing angle is kept consistently about 45 degrees, and the stroke direction is consistently left-to-right. Letter height varies between three and seven nib widths, with an average height of about five nib widths. Let us consider individual letters.

Bet. The clearly visible *bet* in line 1 (just left of the large crack) is typical of late 7th-century forms. Its *linear form* is very similar to that of the first *bet* in *CIS I 112 c*¹ (from Abu Simbel; see fig. 4, p. 35), a lapidary inscription datable to 593 B.C.E. Among atramentary examples, the first *bet* in line 4 of the Saqqarah papyrus (Naveh 1987a: pl. 4, seventh letter from the right), is quite similar in ductus. The *bet* in line 3 of the sherd from a 6th-century context at Kition (Cyprus Museum inventory number Kit. 3836) published by Amadasi Guzzo (*FK III* 171–73 and pl. 21, 2 [D 38]) is comparable. The ductus of this sherd has a marked backhand slant, different from the Maskhuta sherd. The downstroke of the *bet* is executed in the same pattern as the *bet* in line 1 of Maskhuta sherd M78-513b, although the head is written differently.

Gimel. In *linear form*, this letter is nearly identical to the *gimel* that is the first letter (from the right) of *CIS I 112 b*². In the Maskhuta *gimel*, the downstroke is curved and shaded by clockwise rotation of the nib on the downward stroke. The first letter of Kition D 38 line 6 is very similar also.

Lamed. The Saqqarah papyrus shows a very similar form. The writing angle of about 45 degrees produces a thick horizontal stroke with no descend-

ing “tick.” In the Maskhuta hand, this horizontal stroke is little more than a nib width in length; in the Saqqarah papyrus script, the stroke is nearly twice as long. The *lamed*s from the Abu Simbel inscription, in particular CIS I 112 c¹ line 2, are precisely similar in proportion, but the horizontal rises more.

Mem. Although cursive in ductus, the *mem* is formally quite different from the *mem* in the b⁴*lpls* jar inscription (FK III 131–32 [D 3] and pl. 20, 1). Peckham (1968: 158) cited this inscription as the earliest example of the cursive *mem*, assigning a paleographic date early in the 7th century B.C.E. The formally closest contemporary of the *mem* in the Maskhuta sherd M78-513b is found on an inscribed ostrakon from Beirut published by Badre (1997: 91, fig. 47.d; on the paleography, Schmitz 2002a). This sherd has a firm archaeological context in the mid-7th century B.C.E.⁶ The *linear form* from which this cursive *mem* derives is what Peckham labels the semiformal *mem*, characterized by lowering of the right shoulder to horizontal or below.

Nun. Once again, the closest formal parallel is with the *nun* in the Beirut ostrakon. The short horizontal and rounded right corner differentiate this form from, say, the *nun* of the Saqqarah papyrus. There is no upward curvature of the horizontal. The linear form appears somewhat earlier in the Ur ivory box (KAI 29; see Amadasi Guzzo 1996).

Reš. In *linear form*, the *reš* is identical to the second letter (from the right) of CIS I 112 b² (see fig. 4, p. 35). The third letter of line 1 of the Saqqarah papyrus (Naveh 1987a: pl. 4) is nearly identical.

Šin. The *šin* is of the four-stroke variety. As with the *šins* of the Saqqarah papyrus, the stroke pattern is from left to right. Note the three-stroke *šin* in line 3, discussed below, p. 48. This text, like the Saqqarah papyrus, has both a four-stroke and a three-stroke *šin* (see Schmitz 2002a).

The paleographic features of line 1 are consistent with a date in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C.E. Letter forms from this line can be employed as comparanda for other Phoenician atramentary texts from Tell el-Maskhuta.

Line 2. The writing is faint. I see three letters, but only one seems certain to me. I tentatively read *dšm*, although the first letter could be *reš*.

Paleographic commentary. The ductus of this line is quite different from line 1. The individual letters are larger (seven to ten nib widths in height) and more linear in form. A different hand may be represented in lines 2 and 3.

Dalet. In *linear form*, the *dalet* in line 2 is more formal than cursive. The large open head and relatively short shaft are attested earlier in the 7th century

6. Dr. Badre pointed out to me that “the presence of the SOS Attic amphora (Badre 1997, fig. 46.2) in this context, gives a maximum date of 675–650 B.C. but not later, according to A. Johnston” (personal communication April 25, 2001). I am grateful for her comments and for permission to publish the image.

in the Praeneste bowl inscription (*CIS* I 64; *ICO* pl. 67; Peckham 1968: 104–5, pl. 7, line 5). Closer in time is the *dalet* from CID. The *dalets* in the Abu Simbel inscriptions (*CIS* I 112 *b*¹ line 2, *b*², and *c*¹ line 2; see fig. 4, p. 35) show cursive influence, with long shafts and small, narrow heads.

Ṣade. The distinctive linear style of this letter is again very similar to the *ṣade* from CID. In the *ṣade* from M78-513b, the horizontal stroke meets the shaft lower; its first stroke makes a smaller angle with the shaft, the second stroke is closer to vertical, and the third stroke is shorter than the equivalent strokes in the CID *ṣade*.

The third letter, which I have tentatively read as *mem*, is too faint for paleographic analysis.

Line 3. The four letters of this line are large, relatively dark, and easier to read. The line reads *šb*⁹.

Šin. This is a three-stroke *šin* the center stroke of which is vertical and shorter than the outer strokes, stopping level with the other two. At the bottom of the letter, the three strokes meet at a single point. Once again, CID offers a close formal parallel (B2, fifth letter from right). The *šins* in the Abu Simbel inscriptions (*CIS* I 112) are very close in form (Peckham 1968: 170).

Bet. This letter is larger and more clearly defined than the example of *bet* in the first line. Very clear impressions of the nib are visible at the beginning of each stroke. The letter is about eight nib widths high. The vertical stroke bends leftward from a point about one nib width below the head, following the writing angle of about 40 degrees; that is, parallel to the nib impression at the stroke's upper edge. Neither the CID inscription nor Abu Simbel has a closely parallel *bet*.

ʿayin. The letter *ʿayin* is round, with a gap of about one nib width at the top. The bottom right quadrant flooded with ink as the nib negotiated the turn on a rough surface. The *ʿayin* of Kition D 38 line 3 (first letter) is more angular but with similar flooding, although in the upper quadrant, and perhaps with a gap at the top. The Abu Simbel *ʿayins* are similarly round but uninterrupted.

Lamed. Formally identical to the *lameds* in line 1, this letter has a straight horizontal with no descending “tick.” The complete text of this legible portion of M78.513b reads as follows:

1. *grml*[*k*] *bn šl*[. . .] Germilk, son of Shill[ek?]
2. *dšm* against (pl.) (?)
3. *šb*⁹ of the citizens (of . . .)

The differences in size and ductus between the letters of line 1 and those of lines 2 and 3 call the unity of the text into question. We may be dealing with notes by two different hands or with portions of a single larger text. The condition of the text does not warrant speculation about its meaning.

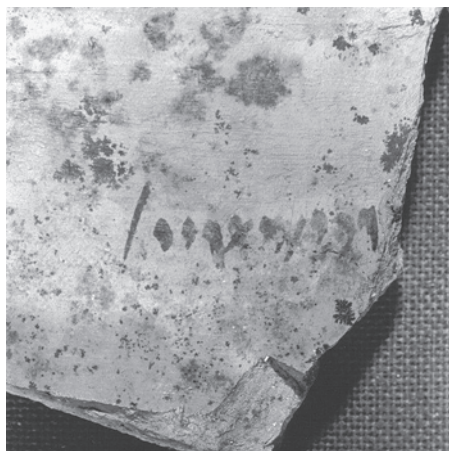


Fig. 8 (above). Detail of letter *samek* in M81-226.

Fig. 7 (left). Tell el-Maskhuta Ostrakon M81-226.

M81-226

From the 1981 excavation of locus S1: 1011, this sherd is described by Lutz (2001: 204–5) as Phoenician ware of the 6th or 5th century B.C.E. This locus also produced a Thasian sherd with an alphabetic inscription (Lutz 2001: 205). Field S concentrated on a very large area of the fortified town site north of Field Q (Holladay 1981b: 9). Field S is located at the northern end of the eastern enclosure wall and includes the juncture of the northern enclosure wall with the eastern enclosure wall. The area had been dug for agricultural soil, making the upper strata very difficult to interpret. The field director, Elizabeth McVey, identified additions to the fortification system from ca. 570 B.C.E. until the 2nd century B.C.E. A bakery installation with nine ovens of the late 6th or early 5th century is also part of the area (Holladay 1981b: 9–10).

I have no information concerning the precise findspot of sherd M81-226. The writing, in black ink, is parallel to the horizontal finger striations on the surface, indicating that the ink was probably applied when the jar was intact. In 1999, I suggested a possible reading and interpretation to Lutz (2001: 205). In my opinion, subsequent paleographic study confirms my initial reading, although the interpretation of the text is subject to considerable uncertainty. Here, I present the reading and adduce the comparative paleographic evidence, considering other possible interpretations as well.

The text (fig. 7) consists of ten Phoenician letters in a horizontal line. Word separation is not clearly indicated. The text reads as follows: *sprnm'rbbn*. The letter I read as *reš* could also be a *bet*. I will discuss possible meanings below.

Paleographic commentary. The ductus of this sherd is quite a bit more cursive than the writing on the previous sherd. Letter height averages three to

four nib widths (the final *nun* stands out at about eight nib widths). The nib width is about 0.25 cm. The writing is very small; the first letter (from the right), for example, is about 6 mm in height.

Samek. The distinctive features of this letter are partly obscured because the heavily charged nib caused considerable ink flow. There is a reasonably close parallel from Kition (Cyprus Museum inventory number Kit. 882; *FK III* 145–46 [D 17] and pl. 18, 4). Amadasi Guzzo (*FK III* 145) dates the fragment paleographically to the 6th century B.C.E.

In fig. 8, I have interpreted the stroke pattern of the *samek* in M81-226 to illustrate the cursive *linear form* of this letter. The formal *samek* in 8th-century forms (Peckham 1968: 163) has three horizontal strokes centered on a vertical shaft nearly twice their length. In the 7th century, we begin to see a cursive adaptation of the form: the top horizontal becomes a smooth arc forming a continuous line with the vertical shaft. The middle horizontal extends to the left of the vertical and joins the shaft of the vertical but does not cross the vertical to the right. The third horizontal does cross the vertical stroke to the right but more or less centers on the vertical stroke (note the different analysis by Peckham 1968: 161–63).

In chap. 5, I publish an inscribed Phoenician amphora in the Carthage Museum, dating from the second half of the 7th century. The *dipinto* inscription on that amphora includes a *samek* of similar type (fig. 13a–b, p. 57). I would date the *samek* from Kition D 17 slightly later than the Carthage form, but not much later. As with the Carthage form, the top horizontal of the Kition *samek* extends farther to the left than the other horizontal strokes. The shaft has inclined leftward, a general cursive feature, but the head strokes do not rotate counterclockwise to a significant degree.

The *samek* in the Saqqarah papyrus (lines 2 and 4) shows counterclockwise rotation of the bottom horizontal stroke, a mark of cursive development (Peckham 1968: 164–65). In the cursive *samek* of the *b⁶lpls* jar inscription, the head strokes have rotated counterclockwise to a nearly horizontal position (*FK III* 131–32 [D 3] and pl. 20, 1). The *linear form* of this cursive is clearly, I should say elegantly, evident in the incised example on the base of a Harpocrates statue from the British Museum (inv. no. 132.908; Barnett 1963–64: 85 and pl. 41; Röllig 1969–70; Ferron 1974: pls. 22–27; *TSSI* 3.141–44; Amadasi Guzzo 1996: pls. 1–7).

The *samek* in the Abu Simbel inscriptions (*CIS I* 112) is semiformal (Peckham 1968: 163). I drew the illustration of one example (fig. 5, p. 36) by tracing a projected image from a telephoto slide shot at Abu Simbel in 1995.⁷

7. I thank my colleague Jay Yager, who took the photograph while we examined the inscription at Abu Simbel in 1995.

In view of the greater cursive influence it exhibits, I would date the *samek* in M81-226 no earlier than the second quarter of the 6th century B.C.E. The shaft is vertical, but the head has rotated counterclockwise considerably.

Pe. The smooth curve of the stroke is shaded because the nib was held at about a 40-degree angle. The *pe* in the *b⁶lpls* jar inscription (*FK III* 131–32 [D 3] and pl. 20, 1) is nearly identical. Also very similar is the *pe* of the Princeton Art Museum situla inscription (McCarter 1993; Amadasi Guzzo 1996: pl. 3, 1).

Reš. The two occurrences of this letter in the text are very similar in form. The first example (third letter from the right) is partly obscured because the shaft is chipped or covered by mineral excrescence. The head is narrower than the head of the *reš* in M78-513b. The angle described by the two strokes of the head is larger also. The closest parallel is with Isis statue inscription, from ca. 550 B.C.E.⁸ The *reš* in *CIS I* 86B (Cyprus tariff) line 10, letters 9 and 12 from right, and line 11, fourth letter from the right, is also very close.⁹ This atramentary text is dated in the late 5th or early 4th century B.C.E.

Nun. The cursive form of *nun* as a single vertical stroke from upper right to lower left is attested in 5th-century atramentary texts, such as the ostraca from Sidon (Vanel 1967, 1969) and the Elephantine ostraca (Lidzbarski 1912). The Phoenician graffiti from the Osiris temple of Seti at Abydos, which include 5th-century forms, also show the single-stroke *nun* (*CIS I* 99–110; Derenbourg and Derenbourg 1885; Lidzbarski 1902–15: 3.100 [text R]. and pl. 18; *RES* 1356; *KAI* 49; Magnanini 1973: 66–68; Kornfeld 1978a: fig. 1; on the chronological range, Amadasi Guzzo 1996: 1057).

Mem. Peckham's description of the cursive *mem* accounts for this instance also: "It begins with a short downstroke on the left, continues through a curved baseline and immediately downward and then to the left in a deeply curved shaft" (1968: 158). In this instance, the shaft is shorter than the shaft of the *mem* in M78-513b line 1, and the "baseline" is less elongated. I find no precise comparanda among published atramentary texts. The Princeton Art Museum situla inscription has a cursive *mem*, but it is different in linear form, preserving a right shoulder (McCarter 1993: pl. 2, 2). However, the *mem* in M81-226 clearly fits between the *mem* in M78-513b and the Sidon ostraca or the Elephantine ostraca. Maskhuta sherd M79-716 has a similar *mem* in its first line.

ʾalep. This appears to be an early instance of the X-shaped *ʾalep*, found also in the Sidon ostraca. The vertical shaft has no shading; the horizontal stroke is thinner.

8. See Amadasi Guzzo's script table (1996: 1056, fig. 2).

9. *FK III* 118–26 (C 1B) and pl. 15, 3.



Fig. 9. Tell el-Maskhuta Ostrakon M-58-247.

Bet. The two adjacent *bets* are similar in shape and stance. Their shape is closely paralleled in the mid-6th century Isis statue inscription (Amadasi Guzzo 1996: fig. 2). In particular, slight counterclockwise rotation of the head gives a distinctive shape to both sets of letters (see also Amadasi Guzzo's script chart in *PPG*³).

M85-247

The text of this ostrakon (fig. 9) consists of a six-letter personal name written in black ink. The context is Q6: 6007. The ware is Phoenician, dated to the 5th/4th century B.C.E. or later (Lutz 2001: 207). Field Q was opened in 1981, excavated under the direction of John Van Seters. The 1981 season reached Middle Persian strata (late 5th century B.C.E.) and unearthed a six-oven bakery and evidence of earlier smelting operations nearby (Holladay 1981b: 9). I believe there is no published report of the 1985 season.

The inscription reads *yḥnbʿl*, a personal name. The name occurs six times in Punic texts, making this text its first occurrence in Phoenician (Benz 1972: 128; Ferjaoui 1992: 434; Krahmalkov 2000: 207).

Paleographic commentary. A date late in the 4th century B.C.E. seems likely. I would place the script between the Elephantine ostraca of the 5th century and the Bat Yam jar inscription of the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.E. (Peckham 1968: 112–13, pl. 11). The *lamed* is very like the corresponding letter in the Bat Yam jar inscription. The *het* is written as three vertical strokes, as

in most cursive Phoenician atramentary texts of this period. The *ʿayin* is open at the top, as in the Elephantine ostraca.

Amadasi Guzzo, writing in a volume for her mentor, Moscati, addressed the problems posed to the paleographer by the relatively small corpus of Phoenician inscriptions from Egypt. (She was not, of course, including the texts from Tell el-Maskhuta.) With the exception of the Abu Simbel “graffiti,” all of the other inscriptions lack context and can be dated only on the basis of script typology (1996: 1057). She is able to place the Isis statue inscription, the Princeton Art Museum situla inscription, the British Museum Harpocrates statue inscription, and the Madrid Harpocrates statue inscription in a relative sequence from “a period oscillating between the middle/end of the VI and the V–IV century B.C.E.,” but greater precision remains out of reach (1996: 1061).

The atramentary texts from Tell el-Maskhuta provide a new paleographic sequence of documents dated by external criteria. Coming from carefully dated archeological contexts and written on datable Phoenician ware, these texts permit the paleographer to construct a continuous sequence from about 610 to about 550 B.C.E. The Isis statue inscription falls in the second quarter of the 6th century, or about 575–550 B.C.E. Nothing from Tell el-Maskhuta disturbs the relative sequence established by our esteemed colleague from Rome.

Chapter 5

A Phoenician Amphora from Carthage with a Dipinto Inscription

The Musée Nationale de Carthage in Tunisia recently reorganized its second-floor display hall of Phoenician and Punic amphoras. Examples of significant types are mounted on wall displays and arranged in groups on the floor. Detailed descriptions in three languages (Arabic, French, and English) provide a very good introduction to amphora typology for the interested visitor.

Amphora no. 2 mounted on the wall display caught my attention when I first saw it in 1995, because I detected a very faint Phoenician *dipinto* inscription on the body. At that time I was unable to examine the amphora closely. Later, on June 17, June 28, and July 1, 2001, I was able to examine the amphora at length in varied light, and (on the latter two days) to take photographs.¹ The inscription, although brief, is of some paleographic interest and may convey significant onomastic and historical information also.

The Dipinto Inscription

At least two features of the inscription mark it as unusual: (1) it is large, each letter being about 7 cm tall, and (2) the letters are written in red slip rather than ink (see figs. 10–12). The body is a pale orange color typical of Phoenician-Punic amphoras of this period (and later). There is not much contrast between the dark orange slip in which the letters are written and the paler orange of the body surface. The low contrast probably explains why the inscription was apparently overlooked previously.

1. Dr. Ahmed Ferjaoui, Director of Research at the Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, a specialist in Phoenician-Punic epigraphy, recently completed a catalog of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions in the collection of the Musée Nationale du Carthage. He had not taken note of this inscription and thus did not include it in his catalog. Dr. Ferjaoui confirms my impression that the inscription has not been described or published previously. I thank my Tunisian colleague most warmly for generous consultation on this and other epigraphic matters.



Fig. 10 (left). Carthage Amphora MC 91.65, showing *dipinto* inscription. Used by permission of F. Chelbi.



Fig. 11 (right). Carthage Amphora 91.65.

The inscription consists of three letters: *snp*. The letters *samek*, *nun*, and *pe* are faint but would presumably be visible to most trained epigraphers. In the following remarks I will offer a paleographic commentary on the inscription, present the comparative evidence for the word *snp*, and suggest a possible identification of the etymon.

The inscribed vessel is a carinated-shoulder amphora, also referred to as a “casque-shaped shoulder amphora.” In an appendix to this chapter (pp. 59–68), ceramic specialist Dr. Joann Freed undertakes a comprehensive formal analysis of this amphora type. She concludes that this variety of amphora was produced in southern Phoenicia from at least the middle of the 7th to the early 6th century B.C.E. as a shipping container for wine.

Paleographic Commentary

Samek. The form of the letter *samek* in this inscription is not found frequently in Phoenician orthography (see fig. 13). In most early instances, *samek* is written with a single vertical stroke and three horizontal strokes crossing the top third to half of the vertical, but in this instance the top horizontal joins the

Fig. 12. Carthage
Amphora MC 91.65,
showing detail of
inscription.



top of the vertical in a smooth arc forming a continuous line. The middle horizontal extends to the left edge of the vertical stroke and joins the shaft of the vertical but does not cross the vertical to the right. The third horizontal does cross the vertical stroke to the right and is more or less centered on the vertical.

I am aware of two other early examples of this form: (1) in the Phoenician inscriptions (generally called “graffiti”) from the second Colossus of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel (*CIS* I 112; fig. 4, p. 35); (2) inscribed on the bottom of a black-glazed Attic cup in the Louvre (AO 3986) published by Bordreuil and Gubel (1986). (In this example, the second horizontal stroke crosses to the right of the vertical.) The Abu Simbel examples have a firm date of 593 B.C.E.² The Attic cup is late 5th century or early 4th century in date, and probably came from the vicinity of Tyre.

This form of the letter *samek* must derive from an early cursive style perhaps developed for writing in wax or clay. Its influence in the Punic series can be seen in *CIS* I 5510 (= *KAI* 302), a Punic inscription from Carthage datable to 405 B.C.E. (Krahmalkov 1974; Schmitz 1994); the letter *samek* in the name *grskn* (line 9) retains a form that must derive from the same cursive style. The top horizontal joins the top of the vertical shaft in a smooth curve, the second horizontal meets the vertical but does not cross to the right, and the third horizontal crosses the vertical shaft completely. In fact, the entire Punic series of *samek* appears to derive from this cursive style (Peckham 1968: 178–87).

Nun. The letter *nun* is somewhat problematic because the top of the vertical shaft appears to close in a loop that crosses the shaft itself. On first impression, the letter might appear to be a cursive *mem*. Repeated examinations of the amphora’s surface, however, convinced me that this interpretation is not cor-

2. On the date of the Phoenician inscriptions from Abu Simbel, see chap. 3, pp. 32–33.

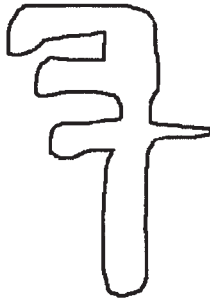
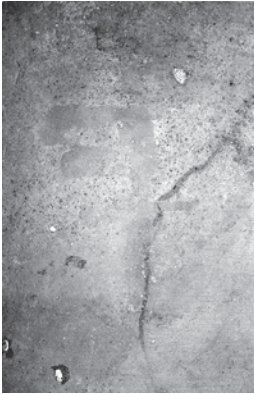


Fig. 13. Carthage Amphora MC 91.65. Detail of letter samek. Photograph and drawing by the author.

rect. The letter is *nun*, but with an odd accidental flourish. Recall that the letters on this amphora are written in red slip. I noted that the beginnings and endings of strokes are generally rounded and somewhat fuzzy, without the clear nib images usually left by writing with a pen. Thus, I conclude that the letters were written with a brush, not with a pen. Examining the thickness of the slip in this letter, I could see that the slip comprising the loop portion is thicker than the slip forming the top vertical stroke, the central “horizontal,” and the downward stroke. In addition, the edges of these strokes are straight and even, indicating contact between the brush and the surface of the amphora. By contrast, the edges of the “loop” portion are uneven and spattered with tiny blotches of slip. This effect would arise from slip dripping from an over-charged brush moved rapidly above the surface of the amphora before its tip contacted the surface of the amphora. I thus conclude that the “loop” at the top of the *nun* is an accidental flourish caused by a thin stream of red slip dripping from the tip of a saturated brush. It is not part of the *linear form* of the letter and should be ignored in paleographic analysis of the letter’s form.³

Pe. This letter is beautifully formed in a single smooth arc. Close in form and in date is the letter *pe* in the archaic Punic stele from Carthage housed in the Musée du Bardo in Tunis (*CIS* I 5684.2), which has a similar smoothly curved form (see fig. 4, p. 35). This Carthaginian inscription probably dates to the end of the 8th or early 7th century B.C.E.⁴

3. I employ the phrase *linear form* to designate an abstraction, constituting essentially “the central line running through the strokes of the actual existing form” (Yardeni 1997: 134). The loop is of paleographic interest insofar as it records the wrist and hand motions of the writer immediately before the brush contacted the writing surface.

4. The letter *sin* in *CIS* I 5684 still has the four-stroke shape, necessitating a date late in the 8th century, or perhaps early in the 7th.

On purely paleographic grounds, I would date this inscription about 700 B.C.E. A date as much as half a century earlier or later is admissible.

Interpretation

It is reasonable to infer that the inscription on the exterior of the amphora might offer an indication of its contents. Philological analysis supports this supposition, as can be shown. Aramaic and Middle Hebrew are misleading sources for understanding *snp*. The Syriac and Jewish Aramaic verb *snp* means ‘to insert’ G, ‘to gird’ D (Brockelmann 1928: 485; Sokoloff 2002: 822), a difficult meaning to associate with the Carthage amphora under discussion or with its possible contents. Additionally, the verb *snp* is not attested in Phoenician. The derived nouns *sānîp* (Middle Hebrew) ‘attachment, wedge, keystone’, and *sānîpā* (Jewish Aramaic) ‘barbed tops of a fence or wall’ (Jastrow 1985: 1007) are equally difficult to associate with the text of the Carthage amphora.

The Akkadian noun *sanapu* (Thompson 1949: 207, 376, 382; *AHw* 1020; *CAD* S 133: *a-a-âr sa-na-pu* Uruanna I 468) leads to a more satisfactory etymology of Phoenician *snp*. Akkadian *sanapu* passed into Greek as *sinapi* ‘mustard’ and later spawned cognates in Latin and many European languages⁵; *sinapis* remains the scientific name of the species (Sturtevant 1889: 675-77). The leaves of the plant were (and are) cooked and served as a pulse or vegetable, and the seeds provided flavor in other recipes (e.g., Apicius, *De Re Coquinaria*, 11.2). Ancient Mesopotamian physicians prescribed an ointment made with mustard (Fincke 2009: 89, 90–91, re BM 54641 + 54826) for treatment of conjunctivitis (Scurlock and Andersen 2005: 190, 9.27; cf. Fincke 2000: 129 n. 995). Considering the culinary uses of mustard leaves and seeds and the medicinal uses of the plant, we can deduce that steady demand for the seed of *sinapis* varieties would make long-distance shipment cost effective.

A plausible hypothesis is that the Carthage amphora once carried mustard seed. Another is that the amphora transported mustard-seed oil, widely used in cooking and medical applications, or the essential oil of mustard (olive or other oil infused with ground mustard seed). It is also plausible, although speculative, to think it might have contained an early relative of *mostarda*, a savory concoction of ground mustard seed soaked in water and heated with reduced must from red grapes. In the absence of evidence about Phoenician cookery, speculation is the only avenue open to us.⁶

5. For example, Italian *senape*, German *Senf*, and Yiddish *zenft*.

6. “The mustard was employed for so many different ailments that its uses cannot be criteria or traces for its origin” (Levey 1973: 60).

Appendix:
The Casque-Shaped Amphora at Carthage

by JOANN FREED

The Amphora Type

The exhibit amphora (figs. 10–11) belongs to a Phoenician class often called carinated-shoulder amphoras, and the particular form belongs to a smaller group sometimes called torpedo jars (French, *jarre en obus*). Neither term is used exclusively for this form. Because the form of the exhibit amphora is relatively short and has a smooth profile, I prefer to call it a casque-shaped (helmet-shaped) shoulder amphora. In this essay, I will be using the term to refer to this type exclusively, as a particular combination of form and fabric.

The amphoras selected for the exhibit were intended to give as complete a representation as possible of the amphora types present at Carthage from the earliest Archaic⁷ to the latest Byzantine types. When they were cataloged, the significance of coarse ware transport amphoras as indicators of trade was clear, and therefore a brief fabric description was recorded for each individual amphora. Although I personally cataloged this amphora, I did not observe the inscription at the time.⁸

The form and fabric of the casque-shaped amphora suggest a southern Phoenician production center, and its form alone can indicate a date around the middle of the 7th century B.C.E., although the form continues into the early 6th. The shape and size of the amphora, as well as the presence of this amphora type in some quantity at Carthage, indicates that it is a transport amphora, not just a storage jar; that is, it was originally produced to transport a liquid commodity, probably wine, at a site with production beyond subsistence.

7. Because of the ordinary presence of Greek and Etruscan artifacts, archaeologists at Carthage define early Punic cultural horizons as Archaic (700–480 B.C.) and classical (480–331 B.C.).

8. The exhibition of transport amphoras was planned under the aegis of Abdelmajid Ennabli, then Director of the Museum of Carthage and Curator of the Site. The exhibition was funded by an Interpretive Grant for Museums from the Getty Museum. Designer Jim Richerson asked me to select the amphoras and write the exhibit entries. Abdelmajid and Liliane Ennabli, Susan Stevens, Angela Kalinowski, and Meg Armstrong were particularly important among the many people who helped me select, clean, and catalog the amphoras. The exhibit opened in June of 1993 but is not accessible at present (2005) because of structural problems with the building.

Museum Context and Cataloging

This amphora is one of 20 mostly complete amphoras of almost identical fabric and form that were excavated at Carthage by Père Alfred-Louis Delattre in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and placed in an underground store-room devoted to his finds. The more-or-less perfect condition of the amphoras indicates that they came from the Punic cemeteries that were excavated by Delattre. Although Delattre made the odd notation directly on these amphoras, there is no evidence that he cataloged them systematically. I cataloged 18 casque-shaped amphoras in 1991 and added two more later. Considering the rarity of complete examples of this type elsewhere, this is obviously an important group.

The fabric of the casque-shaped amphoras is distinctive and distinguishable from any North African production. The color of the fabric is generally red-orange to reddish yellow; a mottled and lighter surface is common. The amphora with the inscription (91.65, no. 2 in the exhibit) varied from 7.5YR 8/5 pink to 5YR 7/5 reddish yellow in the break and surfaces. Vertical kiln shadows from stacking were noted on several examples, including this amphora. The fabric sometimes seems soft, and the compact paste is fine to the point of being floury or silty, but subrounded sandy inclusions, generally minute and in a range of red, gray, and black, are common. Lime inclusions also occur; these are sometimes fairly large and may betray their presence by spalling of the surface. The surface of these amphoras was elegantly wet-smoothed (“wet-wiped”), but gives the impression that the viscous smoothing covers a lumpy underlying fabric.

The casque-shaped amphora has an elegant form that is simple and compact. It has a low vertical rim that is rounded on the interior, a low shoulder that slopes to a sharp carination where it meets the body, small misshapen ear handles attached immediately below the carination, and a vertical wall that may be slightly waisted just below the carination and that curves to a gently rounded cone-shaped base. Both the size and shape of the amphora suggest a shell-casing. The casque-shaped amphora could not stand upright without support, which suggests that the shape was designed for sea transport. The examples at Carthage average 40 cm in height and weigh three to five kg when empty.

The amphora with the inscription has a rim diameter of 10.5, height of 40.5, diameter across the shoulder of 23.0 and across the handles of 29.0 cm. A particularly large example (91.62; no. 8 in the exhibit) was 44.5 cm in height. Average rim diameter, height, shoulder diameter and maximum diameter across the handles for all examples were 10.8, 40.7, 21.0, and 28.3 cm, respectively.

The height of the whole group was quite uniform, but about half the amphoras fell into a subgroup with a slightly narrower body; the fact that the width falls into two groups is characteristic of the type (Lehmann 1998: 18, fig. 6.34–35).

Phoenician Comparanda

It is unfortunate from a Mediterranean-wide context that no general typology for Iron Age transport amphoras of the Levant is explicitly based on fabric or production center. In terms of Levantine forms, the casque-shaped amphora has been classed by Sagona with narrow examples of his Type 7 (subtypes 7c and 7d), but Sagona's morphology (1982: 83–85 and fig. 2, especially nos. 7–8) is too inclusive and his dating too wide. On the other hand, Sagona's list of 90 individual examples related to his Type 7 from 22 Levantine sites shows that amphoras of closely related form are widespread in Phoenicia. Significantly, 51 examples from Cyprus, particularly from Kition and Salamis, occur mainly in tombs (Sagona 1982: 100–103, catalog).

The Carthage casque-shaped amphora is very close in form to Zemer's examples (1977, nos. 12–14) from the museum collection at Haifa, but Zemer's amphoras are made in a coarse gray clay with black core. His no. 15 has a much more horizontal shoulder and was also made in a well-fired gray clay. This amphora was found in Hazor Stratum IV, which was dated to the beginning of the 8th century B.C.E., but this date now seems a century too early. The fabric of the Haifa museum amphoras was evidently deliberately reduced, while all the examples at Carthage were made in an oxidizing kiln. Zemer's nos. 12–14 are significantly larger than the Carthage examples; no. 15, with a height of 42.5 cm, is closer. For nos. 12–14, Zemer gives capacities of 14.2, 15.7, and 14.3 liters, respectively; the Carthage casque-shaped amphoras would have a lower capacity, perhaps about 12 liters.⁹ Although it is a transport amphora, amphoras were just large enough for one able person to carry until the Hellenistic era. Filled with wine, the amphora might have weighed about 16 kilograms (Zemer 1977: 18–21 and pls. V and 5).

The origins of the form can be seen in Bikai's Storage Jar 9, by far the most common storage jar in her excavations at Tyre, and evolves over time (Bikai 1978: 45–49, dating on p. 68). This form was made in a characteristic soft fabric, with a brown to reddish-yellow fabric and gray core. The earliest appearance of the class at Tyre was in Stratum XIV (1200–1070/1050). Although the earliest examples of the class were wider in the lower half, already in Stratum 9 (850–800 B.C.E.) Bikai showed examples in which the body narrowed to a

9. The average capacity of Bettles's Type A1 amphora, which was significantly taller, was 12.7 liters (Bettles 2003: 108).

rounded conical base (1978, pl. 21, nos. 1 and 11). The convex shoulder of the early examples makes the shoulder angle less distinctive, and the handles are larger and more neatly made than those of Bikai's Storage Jar 2 (1978, pl. 4, no. 1),¹⁰ which occurs in her latest levels and is close in form to the casque-shaped amphora.¹¹ The form continued to evolve through the 7th and 6th century and through the Persian period.¹² Lehmann showed the casque-shaped amphora in his Assemblages 3 and 4 (ca. 700–580) and a softer form in Assemblage 5 (ca. 580–540) that evolved into the more curvaceous form with long cone-shaped toe (Bettles A1 [2003:108 and fig. 4.3]; Sagona 6 [1982]; Stern H6 [1982: 107–10]) in Assemblage 6 (ca. 540–360). His assemblages show that the form of the casque-shaped amphora was replaced by ca. 580 B.C.E.¹³ The evolutionary history of this class was distinct from the long torpedo-shaped amphoras that were produced at Tyre in “crisp ware”; nevertheless, some of the amphoras in that fabric are close in form to the casque-shaped amphora,¹⁴ indicating influence between the two wares.

Casque-shaped amphoras are very common in Iron Age II C Level 4 at Tell Keisan, where they are called “torpedo jars.” Bodies related to our amphora type already appear in Level 5, which dates 720–650; examples in Level 4 are complete and essentially identical to the casque-shaped amphora (Salles 1980: Level 5, pl. 47.4; Level 4, pls. 25.2–3, 26.1–9, 27.9). Level 4b is dated 650–600 and Level 4a is dated 600–580 B.C.E. The excavators of Tell Keisan also described the fabric of the torpedo jars and jars with folded-back rims, both of which forms appear in early tombs at Carthage, as a highly levigated fabric with a lively orange color, well fired, with a wall thickness of about 1 cm and variable sandy inclusions; some examples have very large pieces of lime. They suggested that, because this fabric is very common in the plain of Akko, it may have been produced there. They dated the first appearance of the fabric to the second half of the 7th century B.C.E.; the fabric becomes very common for various forms in the 6th century (Salles 1980: 143).

10. Bikai's latest contexts are now considered to continue into the 7th century B.C.E. (Anderson 1988: 419).

11. While Salles said that the “torpedo jar” did not appear at Tyre, in my opinion it is just beginning to appear in the latest level of the excavation (J.-F. Salles, in Briand and Humbert 1980: 146).

12. On the fabric and seriated connections of Storage Jar 2, see Bikai 1978: 49.

13. For the evolution of the class, see Lehmann 1998: 18, 6.34–35 (Assemblages 3 and 4); 22, fig. 8.19 (Assemblage 5); 25, fig. 10.1 (Assemblage 5).

14. Bikai 1978, especially pl. 4, no. 2 = Storage Jar 5; estimated rd 10.0, h 48.0, diameter at shoulder 24.0, at handles 31.0, estimated from drawing.

The Amphora Fabric

No study of the fabric of the Phoenician transport amphoras at Carthage has been published, and Elizabeth Bettles (2003: 103) questioned whether these amphoras were truly of Phoenician manufacture. I am certain, however, from my wide experience with North African fabrics, that the casque-shaped amphoras were not produced locally. The casque-shaped amphora consistently appears at Carthage in the same fabric as Carthage examples of Bettles's Persian-period amphora Type A1/Sagona 6/Stern H6). The strong economic continuity in the Levant makes it extremely likely that what was true of amphoras in this fabric in the Persian period was also true of the late Iron Age.

Bettles noted that the eight fabrics she identified of Phoenician carinated-shoulder amphoras in the Persian period were all "instantly recognizable macroscopically" (2003: 222); however, my application of her study to the fabrics at Carthage can only be subjective. I noted in my cataloging of these two types of amphoras at Carthage that the floury ("silty") fabric was reminiscent of Late Roman Gaza amphoras (LRA 4). The Gaza amphoras are usually a warm brown as opposed to the red-orange of these two types at Carthage; unlike the Gaza amphora, these two types are also wet-slipped ("wet-washed"), which produces a very smooth surface. The ordinary fabric of the casque-shaped amphoras at Carthage clearly belongs to Bettles's second group of four fabrics (Fabric Classes 2A–D). Only one example at Carthage was described as being in a different fabric, possibly Bettles's Fabric Class 1A, which is an unslipped fine red-orange fabric with inclusions of streaky red iron and foraminifera. Fabric Class 1A is by far the dominant fabric class among the Persian-period carinated-shoulder amphoras Bettles studied in Levantine contexts, and she has conclusively linked its production to Sarepta (2003: 204). It is likely that the casque-shaped amphoras at Tyre and Tell Keisan were produced in Bettles's Fabric Class 1A. Among her second group of fabrics, Fabric Class 2B is associated with Gaza and has a wet-smoothed surface, but its color is a darker red-brown than the Carthage casque-shaped amphoras, and I did not observe the white mica and nodules of dark red-brown iron oxide that she described in the relevant amphora fabrics at Carthage. Bettles (2003: 180–81) excluded this fabric from further discussion because examples were rare in Phoenicia, and Gaza was outside Phoenician control.

The fabric of the Carthage casque-shaped amphoras is closest to Bettles's description of Fabric Class 2A, a wet-smoothed red fabric of silty "hamra" soil with sandy inclusions. This soil occurs along the coast of Israel and, according to Bettles (2003: 175), has formed the fabric of pottery for 6,000 years. Amphoras in Fabric Class 2A occur in significant percentages in assemblages at

three sites on the coastal Carmel: Atlit, Dor, and Tel Megadim. Otherwise, they occur only at Akko and at Ashkelon and Tell el-Hesi, far to the south (Bettles 2003: 235). Bettles (2003: 190) suggests that the production site for this fabric could be the northern coast of Israel; that is, in the region of Mount Carmel, which was famous for its wines. Bettles's Persian-period Type A1/Sagona 6/Stern H6 and related A2 amphoras occur in both her Fabric Classes 1A and 2A, the only forms that do so. This indicates a link between these two fabric classes; she further suggested (Bettles 2003: 223) that both may be associated with sites linked to Tyre rather than Sidon.

Mediterranean Distribution

In his study of the Phoenician and Punic amphoras of the central and western Mediterranean, Joan Ramon Torres illustrated the casque-shaped amphora as a Phoenician amphora, identifying it as Sagona 7. His map of its distribution outside the Levant (1995: 270 and map 135, fig. 295, p. 661) shows that only rare examples occur at Motya and in southern Spain, while the casque-shaped amphora is very common at Carthage. The Persian-period shoulder amphora with long cone-shaped toe, Bettles's Type A1/Sagona 6/Stern H6, occurs in the same fabric and clearly develops from the casque-shaped amphora. Sagona 6 continued to be just as common at Carthage in the classical period as Sagona 7 was in the Archaic. Ramón's interpretation of this anomaly is that Carthage is a true city with very strong ties to the motherland.¹⁵

Casque-Shaped Amphoras at Carthage

Trade in transport amphoras in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.E. is more complicated at Carthage than the archaeologists of the late 19th and early 20th century imagined. There are at least three classes of imported amphoras at Carthage in the Archaic period: (1) ovoid amphoras concentrated around the Tyrrhenian Sea and probably made there (Bartoloni 1988: B1–9), (2) shoulder amphoras in Phoenician-inspired forms that are concentrated around the Straits of Gibraltar and may have been made in that area (Bartoloni 1988: A1–3), and (3) Phoenician shoulder amphoras produced in the Levant and related to the casque-shaped amphora.¹⁶

One of the casque-shaped amphoras I cataloged (93.624) was marked "Carthage/1897" (the reading of the year is uncertain) in Delattre's own hand.

15. Ramón's map suggests that more than 50 identifiable examples of each of these types occur at Carthage.

16. Serge Lancel (1983: 3) noted that the contemporaneity of Cintas Forms 268 (the ovoid form) and 280 (Phoenician-type shoulder amphoras) in the middle of the 7th century B.C.E. was proven by their occurrence in the necropolis on the Byrsa Hill.

Delattre excavated Punic cemeteries on the summit of the Hill of Juno, on the southwest side of the Byrsa Hill, at Douïmès, and on the hill near Sainte-Monique.¹⁷ Delattre's publications occasionally include the contents of individual early tombs, but the amphoras are usually of the ovoid type. A drawing of the interior of a built-stone tomb discovered on the side of the Byrsa Hill is an exception. Four transport amphoras, of which two seem to be examples of the casque-shaped amphora, a third very similar to the slightly later type characteristic of Lehmann's Assemblage 5, dated ca. 580–540, and the fourth unidentifiable, were found with seven small forms of Punic pottery; there is no surviving trace of the tomb's occupant(s).¹⁸

Paul Gauckler excavated the Punic cemetery of Dermech at Carthage; his notebook with its drawings, which was published posthumously, is the earliest source proving that casque-shaped amphoras occur in Archaic tomb contexts at Carthage. An example occurred in his Tomb 31, which was constructed of flat stone slabs. The amphora was one of a group of six pieces of pottery characteristic of early tombs at Carthage. In this case, one of two "amphoras" was a table amphora and its lid, with banded painted decoration; the other was a casque-shaped transport amphora. The remaining pieces of pottery in this ensemble were a small jug with trefoil rim, a small jug with disk-shaped rim, a lamp with two pinched nozzles, and a saucer. The two small jugs are characteristic of Archaic-period Phoenician-Punic tombs from one end of the Mediterranean to the other (Pellicer Catalán 2002: 71 and 72, fig. 8). Lehmann (1998: 18, fig. 6.23 and 26 [Assemblages 3 and 4]; p. 14, fig. 3.13–16 and 18 [Assemblages 1 and 2]) showed them with the casque-shaped amphora in his Assemblages III and IV, dated ca. 700–580 B.C.E., and they can appear earlier. Another casque-shaped amphora came from Tomb 41, a built-stone tomb.

Both tombs were discovered in the second month of Gauckler's excavations. He began excavation near the sea and considered the first tombs he found among the earliest at Carthage, but simple trench tombs were nearer the shore and therefore earlier than these built-stone tombs (Gauckler 1915: 1.11, pl. 20, and p. 14, pl. 24). A somewhat larger casque-shaped amphora was found later in the excavations, in Tomb 301, with a similar collection of Archaic pottery and a number of small finds, mostly jewelry (Gauckler 1915: 1.126, pl. 87; for

17. For a survey of the excavations of Punic tombs at Carthage by Delattre and others, see Benichou-Safar (1982: 419–20).

18. The drawing, by a marine officer named Audemard, is entitled "Intérieur d'un tombeau punique découvert sur la Colline de Saint-Louis ouvert le 19 aout 1889." This was an illustration in Delattre's *Les tombeaux puniques de Carthage*, first serialized in *Missions catholiques* from February to June 1890 and immediately reprinted as an independent volume in Lyons.

map, see vol. 1, pl. 1*bis*). Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Etruscan bucchero vases were common in this cemetery, but Gauckler did not note them for these three tombs. Gauckler dated areas of the cemetery rather than the individual tombs, so that his dating is too general to be useful today.¹⁹

In 1950 Pierre Cintas published a typology of the pottery from Punic tombs at Carthage. His typology is based on standardized drawings which do not refer to identifiable pieces. Of Cintas's forms, no. 276 (a Phoenician amphora slightly wider in the lower body, 38.0 cm tall), no. 280 (a Phoenician amphora with a pointed base, as Bettles's A1/Sagona 6/Stern H6, 45.0 cm tall), and no. 283 (a casque-shaped amphora, but only 32.0 cm tall) are all related but not identical to the casque-shaped amphora. All can occur in the same imported Phoenician fabric, as I know from having cataloged similar examples. Cintas listed the published contexts in which his forms occurred, but his dating was based on the range of context dates for whole cemeteries rather than individual tombs. Cintas's book included a pioneering study of fabric inclusions, but no transport amphoras were sampled (Cintas 1950: 408–20).

Hélène Benichou-Safar reviewed the evidence for Punic tombs at Carthage from the early excavations. Her illustrations of the pottery in the tombs (1982: 292–93, 299, and 303, figs. 132–35) again indicated that the usual transport amphora in the 7th-century tombs was the ovoid amphora common to the central Mediterranean (Cintas 268/Bartoloni B1–9).²⁰ The Etruscan and Carthaginian transport amphoras of the classical period developed from this form. Benichou-Safar (1982: 297 n. 42) stated that the class of amphoras that she called *jarre en obus* (Phoenician carinated-shoulder amphoras) and the regular appearance of the six pieces of tomb pottery described above did not appear at Carthage before the second half of the 7th century B.C.E.

More recent excavations have raised this dating slightly. Lancel excavated 26 tombs on the south side of the Byrsa Hill in the French excavations of the 1970s. These tombs were simple trenches (Lancel 1983: 2) of the type Gauckler had considered particularly early. Coarse ware amphoras of the ovoid series (Cintas 268/Bartoloni B1–9) were found in nine tombs and amphoras of the Phoenician shoulder amphora series in four (Lancel 1982: fig. 601). Only one tomb, A.197, which had been disturbed in the late Punic era, had an identifiable fragment of a casque-shaped amphora. Archaic material from this

19. Compare Gauckler (1915: 2.399–403), “Fouilles à Dermech,” reprinted from *BA* 1900, cxxviii–cxxxi, and (1915: 2.499–512), “Fouilles de Carthage,” reprinted from *Revue archéologique* 1902, 369–99.

20. For this amphora class (Bartoloni 1998: B1–9), see also Gras 1985. For the Carthaginian amphora (Bartoloni B9 = Merlin and Drappier 1909: 7, 10, no. 3), see Bartoloni (1998: 40 and fig. 7).

context also included a sub-Geometric proto-Corinthian kotyle, dated in the first half to middle of the 7th century B.C.E. (Lancel 1982: 270–72, figs. 349–51 [Tomb A.197]).²¹ An amphora contemporary with the casque-shaped amphora, the “amphora with folded-back rim” at Tell Keisan, appeared in tomb A.196, which was twinned with tomb A.195; both tombs were dated by a proto-Corinthian kotyle dated to the second quarter or middle of the 7th century B.C.E. (Lancel 1982: 301–8 [Tombs A.195 and A.196]).²²

The Original Contents of the Amphoras

Bettles (2003: 231) showed that, wherever there is positive evidence, whether from inscriptions on amphoras or literary sources, the Persian-period carinated-shoulder amphoras, particularly of Fabric Class 1A, are linked to wine and particularly to the wine of the Mount Carmel region. On the other hand, she knew of no evidence for resin or pitch in the interiors of the carinated-shoulder amphoras of the Persian period in Fabric 2A (2003: 235). Casque-shaped amphoras with pitched interiors have been reported at Tell Keisan (Salles 1980: 146), however, which suggests that the type originally contained wine.²³ On the other hand, only one example (94.26) among the 20 amphoras of this type that I cataloged at Carthage had remnants of black pitch or resin in the bottom of the amphora. At Sarepta, a locally-produced casque-shaped amphora, SJ-18, seemed to be associated with the use of an olive press and basin. The excavator suggested a date in the 6th to 4th centuries for Stratum B (Anderson 1988: 419–22; cf. p. 423, pl. 38, no. 24; and pp. 198–99 for SJ-18). Bettles cautioned, however, that it is not at all certain that the form SJ-18 is the only or the characteristic amphora in this context (2003: 205).

The Function of the Amphoras in Tombs at Carthage

Cintas (1950: 20–21) said that the ceramics found in tombs at Carthage were not purpose-made but were part of the equipment of everyday life. The amphoras in the tombs that I have described were not cinerary urns, because

21. The kotyle is drawn as fig. 351.1, and the coarse ware amphora is drawn as fig. 351.8. The rim diameter of the amphora is between 10.0 and 11.0 cm; its diameter is therefore 22.0–23.0 cm across the shoulder and 28.0–29.0 cm across the handles.

22. For the kotyle, see Lancel 1980: A.195.4, figs. 450–51 and pp. 302 and 304; the amphora A.196.1, figs. 452 (photo) and 453 (drawing), p. 305, has a large spall on its belly from exploded lime. This is the “amphora with folded-back rim,” common at Tell Keisan Level 4 (650–580 B.C.E.). In pl. 27.4–5 and 7–8, it appears in the same context and soft fabric as the casque-shaped amphora.

23. Note also (Salles 1980: pl. 25.3 [Level 4]) traces of black around the interior of the rim; and (Salles 1980: pl. 26.2–3 [Level 4]) traces of deposit in interior.

burials of this date at Carthage are usually inhumations²⁴; rather, they held tomb offerings. Chelbi (1985: 99) reported a white crust, certainly from a liquid (perhaps milk?) in a Phoenician transport amphora in a tomb he dated ca. 725–675 B.C.E. on the Hill of Juno at Carthage. According to Puisaye (1895: 51), Delattre found evidence of food in Punic tombs that included almonds, milk, and the bones of birds and small mammals. In a colloquium on the Archaic tombs on the Byrsa, Lancel (1983: 10) suggested that the single coarse ware transport amphora in any one tomb probably held water for the dead; to Jean-Paul Morel's question about the presence of wine, Lancel replied that the painted table amphoras would have held wine.

Conclusions

The casque-shaped shoulder amphora was certainly produced in southern Phoenicia from at least the middle of the 7th to the early 6th century B.C.E. as a shipping container for wine. At Carthage, the casque-shaped amphora appears uniformly, but perhaps not exclusively, in a fabric that matches the description of Bettles's Fabric Class 2A. This fabric was manufactured along the coast of Israel rather than in Lebanon; it is very probable that the production area was Mount Carmel and the contents were wine. Although the Phoenician casque-shaped amphora otherwise hardly appears in the western Mediterranean, a relatively large quantity of this particular amphora type was shipped to Carthage, and a significant group ended their days there in tombs of the second half of the 7th into the early 6th century B.C.E. The casque-shaped amphoras may have arrived at Carthage carrying wine; what they held in the tombs is still a matter of debate.

24. An example of Sagona 7 from Motya was evidently a cinerary urn (Ramon Torres 1995: 270).

Chapter 6

A Punic Economic Text on Lead (CIS I 6068)

The Punic inscription from Carthage known as a curse tablet is a curiosity. In 1899, Paul Gauckler discovered a folded sheet of lead inscribed with Punic letters in a tomb, perhaps in the Douïmès necropolis of Carthage.¹ Philippe Berger (1899a) announced the discovery and soon produced the first attempt to interpret the text (1899c). Clermont-Ganneau rapidly published further comments on the text (1900, 1901). Berger later sent the inscription to Mark Lidzbarski, who published a hand drawing with a detailed commentary on his readings (Lidzbarski 1902–15: 1.26–34, 174–76, 301–3; 2.61).² After accession to the collections of the Musée Alaoui (now Musée du Bardo) in Tunis (Drapier et al. 1907: 137, H 50), the inscription was further studied in *RES* (13, 236), *CIS I* (6068), and *KAI* (89).³

The text's format is unusual among Punic inscriptions. The supporting medium is a thin rectangle of soft metal, said to be lead, about 12 cm long and 7 cm high. Six lines in Punic letters are inscribed on one side. The script dates to the second century B.C.E. (*PPG*³, script table iv, col. 9). The right-hand edge appears to preserve the beginnings of lines, and the vacant spaces after the final letters of lines 1, 3, and 6 allow the reader to establish roughly the average line

1. The precise findspot is not known. Gauckler's letter reporting his excavations early in 1899 locates his work "à Carthage, entre la grande trancée où [Jean] Vernaz découvert en 1885 les premiers tombeaux carthaginoises et la nécropole punique de Douïmès explorée par le R. P. Delattre" (Gauckler 1899: clix). For the location, see Vernaz (1887: 11–27). Vernaz was exploring the Roman aqueduct, and in the course of clearing a section near the cisterns of Bordj-Djedid he opened four Christian tombs of relatively recent date (p. 25). Vernaz attributed the first discovery of a Punic tomb to the excavations in 1862 by [E. S.] Gouvet in the same vicinity (p. 27).

2. Compare *KI* 58–59, no. 85; drawing p. 57, no. 2. Note that Lidzbarski locates the inscription in the "Musée St. Louis, Carthage" (*KI* 58).

3. *KAI* 3:102 lists the location as Musée Lavigerie (formerly the Musée St. Louis, now the Carthage Museum). I believe this error probably derives from Lidzbarski, whose 1902 study appears to be the last autopsy report in the literature. To the best of my knowledge, no study after *CIS* is based on examination of the actual inscription.

length, leaving little doubt that the text is complete as it stands. The metal sheet had been folded into seven sections.

Reminiscent of Greco-Roman documents of base metal inscribed with binding spells and curses, generally found in tombs (Punic examples, Audollent 1904: no. 113, and pp. 287–90, nos. 213–14),⁴ the Punic text was assigned to this genre even before it could be read.⁵ The classification rapidly shaped attempts to interpret the Punic text by introducing the working assumption that it involved repeated formulas, a common feature of curse texts. This assumption has constrained efforts to resolve difficult readings in the document, interpret ambiguous constructions, and seek cross-cultural parallels. With time, as discussion of the inscription's presumed parallels flourished, textual criticism of the inscription itself languished. Two recent publications confirm this impression.

A new study of *CIS I 6068* by Amadasi Guzzo (2003), whose contributions to the study of Phoenician and Punic epigraphy outpace nearly all others, begins not from a reading of the artifact itself but from Lidzbarski's copy.⁶ The concern of her study is purely philological, not text-critical.

The highly nuanced study by Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz (2005: 165–66 nn. 19–23) begins its discussion of *KAI 89* by questioning the genre assigned by Berger, through comparison with the biblical account of Micah and his mother (Judg 17:1–4). With an abundance of comparative examples, the authors suggest a type or genre of “prayer for justice,” of which *KAI 89* might be an example. The genre they identify involves legal discourse, leading close to the interpretation I will propose on the basis of new readings.

My close examination of the published photographs convinces me that there are at least seven places in the text where the previously published readings of individual letters are open to question. I will offer new readings, reintroduce two older readings, and demonstrate how these readings change previous assumptions concerning the genre and purpose of the text.

4. The term *tabulae devotionis*, used by Berger and Lidzbarski, was replaced with *tabellae defixionum* at the recommendation of Audollent (1905: 434, n. 2), who observed that *devotio* implies religion, whereas *defixio* implies superstition. See also Jordan (1985, 1988, and 1996). Jordan (2000: 5) recommends the label *curse tablets* rather than *defixiones* for Roman-period texts; I have adopted Jordan's usage here, despite the pre-Roman date of the Punic text.

5. Berger, in his initial announcement, observed that the inscription “parait être un des tablettes avec formules et imprecations” (1899a: clxiv).

6. Professor Amadasi Guzzo graciously confirms that she was unable to view the actual document (personal communication, May 9, 2007). Her own investigation has determined that the original is lost.

In large measure, the history of interpretation of this text has been a form-critical quest to determine with greater precision its genre and the form or *Gattung* it represents.⁷ Magical texts from the Greco-Roman world generally, and curse tablets specifically, have been drawn on to provide analogies from which the form of the Punic text might be deduced. No firm or convincing results have emerged from these efforts.

Before considering in detail the implications of the text's form, I present below the Punic text, followed by an English translation, comments on the material readings of letters, and grammatical analysis.

The Punic Text

- 1 *brbt hwt 'lt mlkt š yṭ rh 't*
- 2 *'tk 'nky mšlh 'yt 'mštrt*
- 3 *w'yt 'mrt w'yt kl 'š l' k'*
- 4 *šlm h' 'lty bksp <'š> 'b rh t[š]lm*
- 5 *špṭ 'm 'yt kl 'dm 'š 'lš 'lty*
- 6 *brḥt hksp z km[s]kt ysk' 'prt*

Sentence Analysis

- S1 *brbt hwt*
- S2 *'lt mlkt š yṭ rh 't*
- S3 *'tk 'nky mšlh 'yt 'mštrt w'yt 'mrt w'yt kl 'š l'*
- S4 *k' šlm h' 'lty bksp*
- S5 *<'š> 'b rh t[š]lm*
- S6 *špṭ 'm 'yt kl 'dm 'š 'lš 'lty*
- S7 *brḥt hksp z km[s]kt ysk' 'prt*

Translation

- (S1) I lived by lawsuits.
- (S2) I curse an occupation that enticed my spirit to it.
- (S3) I, Masla(h), do discharge (*solvo*)/ melt (*dissolvo*) 'Ēm-^cAshtart and her *real property* and all that she has.
- (S4) Thus shall she repay her debt in money:
- (S5) Whatever her spirit wishes let her repay.
- (S6) Her mother (should) judge any person who exults over me/her/it.
- (S7) I relinquish this money as castings are poured out of lead.

7. Concerning the terminology, see Barton (1992: 839–40).

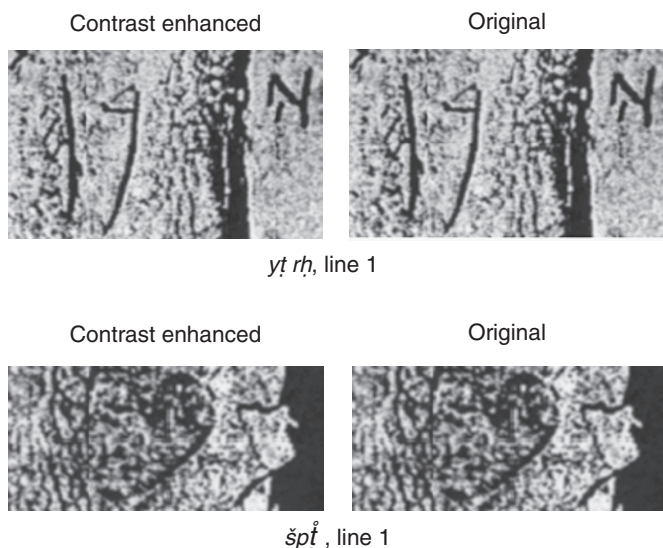


Fig. 14a. CIS I 6068, Enhanced views of readings.

Interpretation

Readings

brbt. Light traces of the letter *bet* can be seen at the beginning of the text's first line. The upper right-hand corner of the head is broken away, but the left corner of the head and most of the shaft remain visible. (The unretouched photograph set between pp. 180 and 181 of Berger's article [1899c] shows the traces clearly.) The letter is aligned vertically above and slightly to the right of the initial letters of lines 3 and 5. No previous discussion of the text has included this letter.

yt rh (line 1). The reading *tet* in line 1 is new. Figure 14a shows a high-contrast image of the context. The oval shape of the letter is visible, as well as one or more of the inner strokes.

Berger, the first to read the text, transliterated the sequence of letters following *š* as *y?kh* and described the reading as "very obscure" (1899c: 181). On the basis of his comparison with the sequence *tysk[h]* in line 6, which he thought repeated words of line 1, Berger (1899c: 180, 184–85) settled on the *conjectural restoration* of the obscure letter as *samek* (p. 181). It is critical to note that nowhere does Berger state that he could *read* a *samek* at this position.

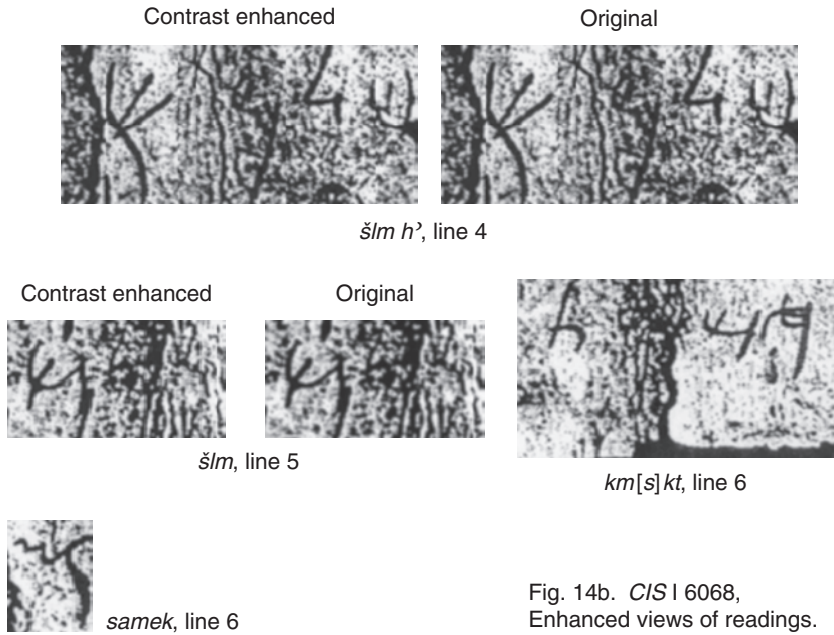


Fig. 14b. C/S I 6068,
Enhanced views of readings.

Lidzbarski's notes on the text are significant, because he autopsied the inscription itself, Berger having sent it to him (1902–15: 1.26). Lidzbarski appears to have been influenced by Berger's restoration of a *samek* at this point, because he repeatedly questioned whether the letter was actually *qop* (1902–15: 1.27). I infer from his comments that he saw the oval shape but was led by Berger's restoration to interpret the fold beneath it as the shaft of *qop* or *samek*, finally overruling his own better judgment.

Berger's reading *kap* for the next letter was motivated by his conviction that the same sequence of letters is repeated in line 6. Lidzbarski considered *reš* a possible reading but rejected it because of the slight rightward orientation of the vertical shaft. In Berger's unenhanced photograph, however, the head of *reš* can be discerned without great difficulty.

Berger read the next letter as *he* and drew the letter over the traces in the retouched photograph (1899c: 180). Lidzbarski's hand copy (1902–15: 1.26) clearly shows the right vertical shaft and two of the horizontal strokes of the letter. Noting that the surface is badly eroded at this point, he allowed that the reading *he* or *reš* might be possible. Neither epigrapher appears to have considered the reading *het*. The left vertical stroke of *het* appears clearly enough in the high-contrast image (fig. 14a); I consider the reading *het* reasonably certain.

ʔi (line 1). The ʔalep has been read by previous scholars. The top half of the *taw* is visible; traces of the bottom half can also be seen. To my knowledge, the reading has not been proposed previously.

šlm (line 4). Berger restored the *šin* and considered the *mem* but preferred *kap* as his reading of the final letter. His drawing on the photograph, however, misses the curvature of the head and shaft. Traces of what appears to be the cross stroke of the head can also be seen (fig. 14a). Lidzbarski concurred with regard to the possibility of reading *šin* as the first letter, although he adopted Clermont-Ganneau's reading of the letter as ʕayin. Lidzbarski also follows Clermont-Ganneau in reading *samek* rather than Berger's *kap* as the last letter. In Lidzbarski's drawing, the head of the *mem* has been combined with the right shaft of the *he* that follows. Lidzbarski's reading was adopted by subsequent scholarship. In my judgment, Berger's first surmise—that the word's final letter is *mem*—is superior to later readings (including his own), and should be revived.

hʔ (line 4). The traces of the letter *he* have not been seen before, although its shaft was perceived by Clermont-Ganneau and Lidzbarski. In fig. 14b (top row), the shaft appears immediately to the right of the crack that meanders like a black line through the letter. Three horizontal strokes pass from the shaft to the left of the crack.

⟨ʔš⟩. The relative complementizer is written in smaller letters above the main text of line 4. The ʔalep stands over the *pe* of *ksp*, and the *šin* stands over the ʔalep of ʔb. From the correction, I infer that the text is a copy and that the scribe made the common error of *homoioarche*, skipping a word beginning with the same letter as the next. Presumably, several copies of the document were made from a draft copy that was perhaps incised in wax or inked on papyrus.

t[š]lm (line 4). Berger considered restoration of *šin*. Lidzbarski did not restore the letter. I consider *šin* the most likely restoration.

špʔ (line 5). Ferron's reading [y]p[ʕ]l correctly identifies the letter *pe*. His comments suggest that the ʕayin is a conjectural restoration; it does, however, recognize the oval shape of the *tet* (Ferron 1967: 221).⁸ I cannot detect the *lamed* restored by Ferron.

km[s]kt (line 6). Berger read the *mem* but transliterated the next two letters with question marks. Lidzbarski copied nothing here. The shaded shaft of the letter *samek* can be made out just right of the crack in the lead sheet, but the head of the letter cannot be clearly discerned. (Compare the undamaged letter

8. Although Ferron wrote from Carthage (1967: 215), he does not mention having autopsied the inscription. He does say he used Berger's published photographs to evaluate readings and restorations (p. 220).

samek in line 6 [fig. 14b].) The *kap* is visible, although its upper right corner is obscured.

Grammatical Notes

Line 1

Clermont-Ganneau (1900: 305–6; 1901: 89–90) proposed that the words *rbt hwt ʔlt mlkt* signify divine titles, such as “Mistress Hawwat! Allat! Milkat!” This idea was variously elaborated and has become a consensus view⁹ that the putative titles refer in general to “a powerful mother goddess of some sort” (Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz 2005: 184). Despite the considerable erudition dispensed toward an identification of the putative deity, however, the words remain mysterious. I see a much different interpretation of the text’s opening words.

ḥ. For the grammatical significance of this initial preposition, see the discussion of the verb *hwt* below.

rbt. All previous treatments have understood this word as the epithet ‘lady’, a title that routinely precedes the names of female deities in Phoenician and Punic dedicatory inscriptions (*DNWSI* 1049 s.v. *rb*₂ 3b). In this instance, however, *rbt* is the plural of the noun *rb* (< *ryb*), to be vocalized /rībūt/. Attested in Biblical Hebrew (*HALOT* 1224–26), Qumran Hebrew (1QS 9:16), Old Aramaic (*DNWSI* 1074–75), Targumic and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic (Jastrow 1985: 1472; *CAL* s.v. *ryb*), the noun signifies a dispute or a case or suit at law. The translation of *rbt* as ‘lawsuits’ conveys only a portion of this range of meaning.

hwt. Aligned with Clermont-Ganneau’s earlier supposition (1900: 305–6), Amadasi Guzzo (2003: 27) interprets this form as the infinitive of *h-w-y*₂ ‘living’. I agree with the verbal derivation, but parse the form as 1cs /ḥawūt(i)/ ‘I lived’. The Biblical Hebrew idiom *ḥāyā b-* ‘to live by (something)’ is well attested (Lev 18:5; Ezek 20:13, 21, 25; 33:12; Neh 9:29).¹⁰ The text’s first sentence is *brbt hwt* ‘by lawsuits I lived’.

ʔlt. The interpretation of this form as the single word, ‘goddess’, prevailed over Clermont-Ganneau’s gloss “Allat” (1900: 305; see Ferjaoui 1992: 393–94; Amadasi Guzzo 2003: 27–28), although the theonymic interpretation gained favor after G. Levi Della Vida (1933: 312–13) read the divine name

9. See the succinct discussion by Amadasi Guzzo (2003:26–27).

10. The idiom is also attested in Aramaic: e.g., *kl mdʿm zy yhyh bh ʔyš* ‘everything that a man may live by’ (Cowley 1923: 154 no. 49.3 [= *TAD* B4.1]; *DNWSI* 355 s.v. *hwy*₂; Schwiderski 2004: 58–59).

Hawwat-Ilāt, followed by Ferron (1967: 217).¹¹ The form is nonetheless not a name or other substantive but a verb: G 1cs suffixing *ʔālīt(i)* ‘I curse’ (< *ʔ-l-y* ‘curse’; *HALOT* 51 s.v. *ʔ-l-h₁*; cf. *DNWSI* 60–61 s.v. *ʔ-l-h₂*).

mlkt. Levi Della Vida (1948: 148–49) interpreted *mlkt* in this inscription as a well-attested spelling variant of *mlʔkt* ‘labor, work’ (*DNWSI* 630–31 s.v. *mlʔkh₁*), to which he attributed the more specific meaning ‘magical action’. This nuance received general assent, and the magical aspect has been elaborated extensively (see Amadasi Guzzo 2003: 26–27; and Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz 2005). In the emergent context of my interpretation, the mundane sense ‘work, trade, business, occupation’ (broadly attested in Hebrew: *HALOT* 586; Jastrow 1985: 786) is more likely, because the author rues the occupation that kept him alive.

yṭ. Regarding the reading of the letter *tet* in this word, see p. 72, above. The verb is *n-ṭ-y*, the stem is causative suffixing conjugation (*yipʿil*; *PPG*³ 96–97, §§151, 155; cf. Krahmalkov 2001: 180–83), 3fs. In context, the implied Punic idiom *yṭ rh*, to attract or entice the spirit, appears analogous to the collocation of *y-ṭ-h* and *lēb* in Isa 44:20: *lēb hūṭal hiṭṭāhū* “A deluded mind has led him astray” (RSV, NJPSV).¹²

rh. Context indicates that a first-person pronoun is suffixed to the noun. In Phoenician-Punic orthography, vocalic pronominal suffixes are not represented when the noun is in the nominative case. In Biblical Hebrew, *rwḥ* is never used as an object of *n-ṭ-y*. The analogous construction is *haṭṭeh lēb*, to turn or incline the heart (Josh 24:23; Kgs 8:58, 11:2–3; Pss 119:36, 141:4); in epigraphic Hebrew, *hṭh [l]b* (Tel Arad, H 40.4), in the sense ‘pay attention’.¹³

ʔi. On the reading of this word, see p. 74, above. This is the preposition *ʔt* ‘with, near, beside’ (*DNWSI* 131). It is often used with verbs connoting action involving motion, such as *wnntn ʔt hkhn* ‘and they were given to the priests’ (*KAI* 137.6b–7). In context, this preposition must carry a pronominal suffix (on the form, see *PPG*³ 182 §254).

Line 2

ʔtk. This word is ambiguous and has been variously analyzed. Clermont-Ganneau (1901: 92) considered the root to be *t-k-k* and considered the meaning ‘fasten, tie, bind’ “very possible” in the context of a curse text. Lidzbarski (1902–15: 1:31–32) elaborated the theme of ‘binding’ in magical utterances,

11. The form *hwt* appears in a dedication on two identical urns discovered in 1908 in tomb 91 of the S. Avendrace area of Cagliari, Sardinia; see Amadasi Guzzo (1967: 115–16 and pl. 43, with bibliography). For the view that *hwt* is not a divine name in these texts, see Müller (2000; 2002: 501).

12. Note also Prov 7:21; Job 36:18.

13. *DNWSI* 728 s.v. *nṭy*.

noting also the restriction of the root *t-k-k* in Hebrew to *tō/ōk* ‘oppression, violence’ (*HALOT* 1729–30). This analysis remains generally accepted (*DNWSI* 1214 s.v. *tkk*).¹⁴ Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz (2005: 167 n. 28) identify the verb as *n-t-k* ‘melt, pour out’ and translate the sentence “May I, Maslih, make ʾEmashtart melt.” The semantic oddity of “melting” is glossed as “wast[ing] away” with disease or illness (Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz 2005:178), a motif not otherwise expressed in words such as these in pre-Roman curse texts.

The Ugaritic verb *n-t-k* occurs in the G stem ‘to spill, pour (out)’, in the passive G stem ‘poured out’, and in the N ‘pour forth (intransitive)’ (*DUL* 651; Halayqa 2004: 244). The additional nuance ‘melt, cast’ is attested in Biblical, Qumran, and Rabbinic Hebrew (*HALOT* 732–33; Jastrow 1985: 944) and in the Jewish Aramaic dialects (*DJPA* 362b; Jastrow 1985: 944) but is restricted to the Niphal, Hiphil, and Hophal stems.¹⁵ The two semantic fields are related but distinct: ‘pour’ in the Qal stem and ‘melt, smelt’ in the derived stems (Stiglmaier 1999). The verb *n-t-k* is not attested in the Piel (D) stem.

In the derived stems, the verb *n-t-k* is fientive.¹⁶ The fientive connotation of ‘melting’ (a change of state at elevated temperature) appears incongruous when the grammatical object is animate and human, as in sentence 2: ʾtk . . . ʾyt ʾmʿštrt ‘I melt ʾĒm-ʿAshtart’. Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz (2005:178) seek to resolve this incongruity of meaning by invoking an essentially medical metaphor of disease and infirmity.

The expression does find other analogies in the context of Roman private law. The technological metaphor of a change of state from solid to liquid, whether by dissolving (*dissolvere*, *solvere*) or by founding (*fundere*), underlies the Latin legal vocabulary of debt forgiveness.¹⁷ The words *dissolvere* and *dissolutio* may signify the termination of any relationship established by mutual consent, especially marriage and economic exchange. The verb *solvo*, for example, could be used with reference to the discharge of a debt (Lewis and Short 1879: s.v. *solvo* B.1.c). The fluid metaphor is perceptible in the English equivalent itself.

The precise form of ʾtk in this text is ambiguous. Potentially, ʾtk is a G-stem suffixing form /ʔettōk/ with the meaning ‘I discharge’. The English translation ‘discharge’ sufficiently accounts for the metaphoric associations and the

14. Concerning the interpretation of ʾtk as ‘with you’, see Amadasi Guzzo (2003: 29).

15. Note the similar distribution of meaning associated with the verb *m-s-s*: Qal ‘de-spair’; Niphal ‘become fluid, melt’; Hiphil ‘cause to melt’ (*HALOT* 606–7).

16. Describing actions rather than states (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 163 §10.2.1.).

17. English economic discourse maintains the metaphor with *dissolve*, *discharge*, *fund*, *liquidate*, and a number of other terms.

economic context.¹⁸ Also possible is the reading as a Yipihil prefixing form *ʔattik/* ‘I (cause to) melt’.¹⁹ I would identify the import of the metallurgical metaphor as dissolution of debt rather than loss of health.

mšlh. Berger interpreted this word as a verbal noun, suggesting the translation “réussir” (1899c: 182). Clermont-Ganneau (1900: 307-8) favored the interpretation of *mšlh* as a personal name, noting the preceding first-person pronoun *ʔnky* ‘I’. Lidzbarski (1902-15: 1: 34) also translates the word as a name (see also Clermont-Ganneau 1901: 91).²⁰ Amadasi Guzzo advocates interpretation as a verbal noun indicating the type of magical action (2003: 29).

The verb *šlh* is a formant in at least five Phoenician-Punic names (Benz 1972: 400), and *mšlh* is attested as a name in a Phoenician inscription (CIS 133 [Panormus]; Benz 1972: 133).²¹ In view of this evidence, I favor the interpretation of *mšlh* as a personal name.

Line 3

ʕmrt. This noun has generally been interpreted as a personal name cognate with Biblical Hebrew ‘Omri. In the context, however, it seems clear that Masla(h), the author of the text, intends to deny all claims that might attach to the person, real property, or chattels of ʔĒm-ʕAshtart. It is consistent with this view to see what follows her name as a list of her possessions. From this perspective, the word *ʕmrt* can be seen to derive from the same root as Syriac and Jewish Aramaic *ʕ-m-r* G ‘to dwell’ (Brockelmann 1928: 532; Jastrow 1985: 1090). As a feminine noun, Punic *ʕmrt* is cognate to Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʕmrt* ‘dwelling place’ (Sokoloff 2002: 399 s.v. *ʕmrh*) and Arabic *ʕimāra(t)* ‘building, edifice, real estate’ (Wehr 1994: 643 s.v.). In the legal context of this testament, *ʕmrt* may correspond to Latin *fundus* or *praedia*.²² While ‘dwelling place’ may be too restrictive, ‘real estate’ has an anachronistic ring. The translation ‘real property’ conveys the legal tone.

kl ʔš ʔ. This constituent is a case of “*k(w)l* followed by a relative clause” (DNWSI 504). The uncertainty attaches to the antecedent of the (in either reading, feminine-singular) pronoun affixed to the preposition *ʔ*. The antecedent could be *ʕmrt*, in which case the alienation would apply to moveable property associated with the dwelling. In view of the dissolution of claim to ʔĒm-

18. Additional possibilities include *dismiss*, *eject*, *expel*, and *purge*.

19. Perhaps even *liquidate*.

20. Faraone, Garnand, and López-Ruiz (2005:167 and n. 27) also favor a personal name.

21. The Berber name *Masla* is one of a family of Berber names with the element *mas-* (Jongeling 1994: 86, xiii) and could underlie *mšlh* if this inscription is not too early for *h* to serve as a vowel letter.

22. Both the *fundus* and the *praedia* were considered at law to include land and any buildings on it (Berger 1953: 479, 641 s.v.).

‘Ashtart’s money in line 6, however, I presume to translate *kl ʾš lʾ* as ‘all that she has’, referring to the totality of ʾĒm-ʿAshtart’s peculium and chattels.²³

Line 4

ʿlty. The absolute use of this preposition is unusual. The relative clause ʾš ʿlty ‘which was (incumbent) on him’ occurs in Phoenician (KAI 60.4; Krahmal-kov 2000: 375). In the Aramaic conveyances (see below, pp. 82–83), the preposition ʿl becomes lexicalized with the meaning ‘debt’ or ‘owed (by)’.²⁴ A similar lexicalization may be evident in the use of Punic ʿlt in this text.

ʾb. The verb is ʾ-b-y in the ground stem, suffixing conjugation, 3ms.

t[š]lm. Concerning the restored letter, see above, p. 74. Concerning the factitive character of *šillēm* ‘to make whole’, see Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 400 n. 18) and Schmitz (forthcoming b).

Line 5

špt. On the restoration of this word, see above, p. 74. On the Phoenician-Punic use of the perfect in expressions of wish, see PPG³ 190 §262.7.

ʾm. Berger (1899: 184) interpreted this word as the particle ʾim ‘if, if only’, as did Lidzbarski also (1902–15: 1:32). Amadasi Guzzo (2003: 30) translates ʾm in the disjunctive sense ‘or’. I prefer to interpret ʾm as the noun ‘mother’. In this case, a feminine singular pronominal suffix can be anticipated: ʾimmā/ ‘her mother’. The clause is a defension against third-party challenges to the legitimacy of ʾĒm-ʿAshtart’s ownership. As the creditor did not appoint a tutor for ʾĒm-ʿAshtart in this document, her mother, if she were a widow, would have guardianship over her daughter’s property (Berger 1953: 578 s.v. Mater; 469 s.v. Femina), hence, my translation ‘her mother’.

ʾyt. The verb *špt* takes the definite direct object in a limited number of Biblical Hebrew constructions. The locus classicus is Exod 18:13: *wayyāšeb Mōšē lišpōt ʾet haʿām* ‘and Moses sat to judge the people’. A more explicit syntactic parallel is the subordinate clause *šōpēt ʾanī ʾet-bêtô* (1 Sam 3:13), the translation of which varies: e.g., “I am about to punish his house” (RSV); “I sentence his house” (NJPSV).²⁵

23. Regarding *kl ʾš lʾ*, note the related summary phrase, also involving landholding, *kl ʾš ytn l mtš* ‘all that Mitas has given him’ (CID 6). Regarding its reference to the totality of ʾĒm-ʿAshtart’s peculium and chattels: “There can be no suit without a statement of claim [*intentio*]” (Leage 1906: 370).

24. I base this assertion on a search of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (Online: http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/cgi-bin/scan_olex.cgi) for the English word *debt*, which shows this use of ʿl in Palestinian Old Aramaic and Mesopotamian Imperial Aramaic. See also DNSWI 846.

25. On the marking of verbal objects in Phoenician-Punic, see PPG³ 196–97 §275.

ʿlš ʿlt-. The reading of this string was established by Lidzbarski (1902–15: 1:29) and accepted by Clermont-Ganneau (1901: 96). All subsequent discussions have maintained the reading.²⁶ The Vulgate consistently translates Biblical Hebrew ʿ-l-š with *exultare*. My assumption is that in the legal context of this document, ʿlš ʿlty is likely to be a technical term for an action at law. However, simple gloating might be its import.

Line 6

brht. The verb is *b-r-h* (Krahmalkov 2000: 125) in the D-stem, suffixing conjugation. I take the sentence to have a performative function.

m[s]kt. This noun, cognate to Biblical Hebrew *massēkā* (singular), *-ôt* (plural) ‘metal casting, cast image’ (*HALOT* 605), is to be distinguished from the uncertain word *mskt* in the Karatepe inscription (*KAI* 26 A iii.1; *DNWSI* 664–65 s.v.; cf. Röllig in Çambel 1999: 59). In the context Punic *m[s]kt* is plural, referring generally to “castings.”

yskʿ. The verb is *n-s-k₁* ‘pour out’; the stem is internal passive (Yuphal; cf. Krahmalkov 2001: 157), suffixing conjugation, 3fp. The final *ʾalep* represents the final vowel of the verb. The probable vocalization is */yussōkū/*.

The Supporting Medium

Lead was used in the Greco-Roman sphere as a writing material. Its use received little explicit mention, but a few texts illustrate the range of uses. Pausanias (9.31.4) refers to seeing part of *Works and Days* written on lead; Pliny (*Nat.* 13.69) speaks of *plumbea volumina*.²⁷ While many curses were written on lead, the supporting medium alone is not a reliable guide to the genre of this text.

Type and Form

What type of document is *CIS* I 6068? In translating and interpreting the text, I have entertained the possibility that, given the period in which it was produced, and the reference to *rbt* ‘lawsuits’ in the opening words, its *Gattung* is to be found in Roman private law. The most likely legal type for this document, in my judgment, is the *pactum de non petendo* (Berger 1953: 615).²⁸ This is a pledge by a creditor not to sue a debtor in court. As an informal agreement of release, the *pactum de non petendo* “is a general mode of extinguish-

26. I also restore the verb ʿlš in *CIS* I 6000*bis*.6–7 (see below, pp. 87, 92).

27. These and other examples are adduced by Vázquez Hoys (1985: 35–45).

28. The *pactum* is “confined to such agreements as appertain to the law of obligations” (Sohm 1892: 132 n. 1). On the different forms of this agreement, see Morisson de la Bassetière (1883: 83).

Table 2. CIS I 6068: Formal Analysis

S	Text	Diction	Legal Form	Covenant Form
S1–2	<i>brbt ḥwt ʔlt mlkt š yṭ rḥ ʔt</i>	subjective	witness	preamble
S3	<i>ʔtk ʔnky mslh ʔyt ʔmʕstrt wʔyt ʕmrt wʔyt kl ʔš P</i>	subjective	declaration of conveyance	historical prologue
S4	<i>kʔ šlm hʔ ʕlty bksp</i>	objective	notice of debt	ethical stipulations?
S5	<i>ʕʕš ʔb rḥ t[š]lm</i>	objective	receipt	ethical stipulations?
S6	<i>špt ʔm ʔyt kl ʔdm ʔš ʕš ʕlty</i>	objective/ subjective	defension	sanctions
S7	<i>brḥt hksp z km[s]kt yskʔ ʕprt</i>	subjective	quittance	succession arrangements

ing any obligation, no matter what the ground on which such obligation may rest” (Sohm 1892: 347). This sort of pledge would normally have been offered if the debt was in *derelicto* and the creditor had lost hope of payment.²⁹ The defension against counter-claims in line 5 (see above, p. 79) implies that the pact is probably *in personam*; that is, Masla(h) abandoned his claim on ʔĒm-ʕAshtart’s obligation but did not limit the rights of other sureties, creditors, or co-creditors to act against her. Rather, line 5 would appear to make a provision for this eventuality that places the responsibility on ʔĒm-ʕAshtart’s (?) mother.

As a Northwest Semitic legal document, CIS I 6068 also partakes of some of the features of conveyance deeds known from the Aramaic legal tradition. With respect to the Samaria papyri, for example, Gropp distinguishes between outer and inner elements of the formularies (Gropp 2000: 831). The Samaria papyri—in contrast to the Elephantine deeds—do not consistently employ dictional markers to distinguish between outer and inner elements of the formulary. “There is no formal address of one party to another. The formulary as a whole is objectively styled” (Gropp 2000: 831).³⁰ In the final clauses, however, diction shifts from objective to subjective formulation, that is, from third-person to first- or second-person discourse.

29. A release from obligation was not operative in Roman civil law; in praetorian law, however, the creditor had additional recourse at law even after granting a *pactum de non petendo* (Sohm 1892: 348).

30. I understand “objectively styled” to imply third-person discourse.

Certain outer elements, such as the date and place of execution, name of the scribe, and endorsement, are absent from *CIS I 6068*.³¹ This formal feature suggests that the document's social context may be not public but private. From its contents it would appear to involve an intrafamilial transaction, perhaps to be regarded as extralegal. The final clause, nonetheless, involves a shift from third-person to first-person discourse, not unlike conveyances among the Samaria papyri.

In a pertinent essay, F. M. Cross (1998: 10–11) stressed that the language of covenant derives from the language of kinship.³² If, as seems to be indicated, *CIS I 6068* adheres to an extra- or paralegal form based in kin relations, recent scholarship on covenant formulary may also contribute to its elucidation (e.g., Hahn 2005). Hugenberger (1994: 171) has defined *covenant* as “an elected, as opposed to natural, relationship of obligation established under divine sanction,” moving on a path similar to that pointed out by Cross, from the natural affinities of kinship to elective affinities. Proceeding along this course, from kinship to elective affinities, we can seek evidence of covenant formularies in this document.

Table 2 presents an analysis of the Punic text from the perspective of both legal and covenant formularies. As the table shows, the text of *CIS I 6068* shares similarities with both formal categories. Each sentence of the text can be identified as an element of a legal formulary recognized in Aramaic deeds of conveyance, but the diction of the individual elements as well as their arrangement differs noticeably from the Aramaic precedents. For example, the first sentence of *CIS I 6068* presents the author's preamble. Aramaic deeds list human witnesses and place the witnesses later in the text. Adhering to a somewhat different pattern, the Samaria papyri begin their final clauses with a defension clause (Gropp 2000: 833; Gropp, VanderKam, and Brady 2001: 28),³³ a pattern also followed in *CIS I 6068*.

In general, although the Punic text corresponds to the formularies of Aramaic deeds of conveyance, it shows greater formal correspondence to the formulary of the Samaria papyri than to the Elephantine deeds. Gropp accounts for the formal differences between the Palestinian and Egyptian versions of legal formularies historically: “The Elephantine legal papyri stem ultimately from an Assyro-Aramean symbiosis, whereas the Samaria papyri derive from

31. The Samaria papyri never name a scribe and lack external endorsements, in contrast to the Elephantine deeds (Gropp 2000: 831).

32. “Oath and covenant is . . . a widespread legal means by which the duties and privileges of kinship may be extended to another individual or group, including aliens” (Cross 1998: 8).

33. More generally, see Greenfield (1992: 467–71).

a Babylonian-Aramean symbiosis” (2000: 834; cf. Gropp, VanderKam, and Brady 2001: 32).³⁴ If the Punic text at hand can be considered evidence of a Canaanite tradition of legal formularies, then that tradition may share with the tradition of the Samaria papyri greater Babylonian influence than the Assyrian-influenced formularies of the Elephantine documents.

The Punic text includes no notice of receipt of payment (cf. Gropp, VanderKam, and Brady 2001: 7, 9) but only a brief statement canceling the debt incurred by ʾĒm-ʿAshtart. Elephantine deeds provide notice that full compensation has been received and the alienor is satisfied. The Aramaic phrase *lbby t̄yb* ‘my heart is/was satisfied’ is generally employed in the Elephantine deeds.³⁵ In S4, the Punic text employs the expression <ʾš> ʾb rh ‘what(ever) her spirit wishes’ to specify the terms of repayment. This wording is most similar to “conventional ownership clauses which specify the ensuing rights of a purchaser, or of one receiving a perpetual grant,” in Jewish Aramaic deeds of grant (Levine 2000: 841). The Aramaic verb ṣ-b-y (Peal) ‘to desire’ is generally employed in these clauses; the verb ʾ-b-y (Peal) ‘to be willing, consent’ is not. CIS I 6068 appears to have a formal similarity to Aramaic deeds of purchase but a dictional similarity to Jewish Aramaic deeds of grant.

The waiver of the alienor’s right to litigate in S5 (line 5) is expressed by means of a type of clause found elsewhere in Punic (Krahmalkov 2000: 477; Schmitz forthcoming a). The Punic verb ṣ-p-t in imperative constructions evokes retributive judgment. In S5, the word ʾm ʾimmāl ‘her mother’ indicates the agent. The text presupposes an elective relationship established under legal sanction—in other words, a covenant.

A further noteworthy feature of CIS I 6068 is S6 (line 6), the receipt-quittance clause (Gropp 2003: 32–34). Rather than stating the alienor’s renunciation of future claims against the property or debt in traditional and straightforward terms of the type found in Aramaic deeds of conveyance or grant, the Punic text engages in a simile that makes reference to an implied symbolic act. The first half of the sentence is literal: *br̄ht hksp z* ‘I relinquish [i.e., cause/permit to depart] this money’; the second half, *km[sk]t yskʾ ʿprt* ‘as castings (are) poured out of lead’, is a similitude. Just as the founder relinquishes the lead but retains the casting, so the alienor relinquishes (further) payment but retains the merit implicit in the grant. The similitude has a self-referential quality, because it is written on a sheet of lead that is—probably—the lead casting referred to in

34. Greenfield (1990: 86) took exception to the emphasis that Muffs (2003) placed on the influence of Neo-Assyrian legal forms on the Elephantine formularies.

35. Muffs (2003: 65–128, 150–72) undertook a detailed analysis of this phrase and its correlates in Neo-Assyrian, Egyptian, and Demotic conveyances.

the sentence. Self-reference is characteristic of ritual, and self-referential ritual is characteristic of covenants.

Conclusion

Several conclusions can be stated with a reasonable degree of certainty. First, *CIS I 6068* should not be classified as a curse text, at least as its principal *Gattung*. The text does invoke a curse against its author's occupation, but that element does not appear to be fundamental to its textual form. The curse may be related to the document's material substance as a sheet of lead (referred to in the final sentence), but its other rhetorical features do not enlarge or sustain magical themes or imprecations.

Second, its rhetoric and contents are consistent with its identification as a *pactum de non petendo*, a pledge by a creditor not to sue. In Roman private law, this sort of pledge, whether verbal or in writing, effectively released a debtor from their obligation to repay. The Punic document under consideration allows for the possibility of voluntary repayment by the obligee but concludes with a statement abandoning all claim to repayment.

Third, as a Northwest Semitic document, *CIS I 6068* can be shown to share several similarities with Aramaic conveyances, especially the Wadi Daliyeh papyri and Jewish Aramaic deeds of grant. While its legal formulas are primarily Roman, its diction evokes Northwest Semitic covenant formularies.

Through the tiny window of this unusual text, readers can see a glimpse of the later Punic society of Carthage. Beneath a complex superstructure increasingly shaped by or imitating Roman institutions of law and public life can be discerned the Canaanite traditions of law and covenant foundational to the societies of the ancient Near East.

Chapter 7

The Punic Epitaph of Milkpl from Carthage (CIS I 6000bis)

The epitaph of a Carthaginian named Milkpilles has been known to scholars since its discovery in 1899 by A. L. Delattre in the southern part of the Punic necropolis located in the Sainte-Monique district of the site of ancient Carthage.¹ Incised on a rectangle (0.14 m high by 0.18 m wide) of smooth stone framed by a carved border, the epitaph consists of eight lines of Punic text (fig. 15). The script can be dated to the 3rd century B.C.E.; a date in the first half of the 3rd century is likely, but more precise dating is difficult (Peckham 1968: 191–97, 219–20 n. 31). The bottom and left edges of the stone are broken away, leaving all but the fifth line incomplete; pockmarks further obscure the reading of letters in lines 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8.

The discovery rapidly drew the attention of the leading epigraphers of the day, who concentrated on establishing reliable readings of the damaged sections (Clermont-Ganneau 1899; Lidzbarski 1902–15: 1.164–69; *RES*, nos. 13, 236). After the Second World War, J.-G. Février devoted a study to the text of the epitaph (Février 1954).² In 1966, J. Ferron produced a detailed study of the epitaph, differing on several points of interpretation. Février's response (1968) addressed these points of difference. In the years following, *CIS I 6000bis* has received only occasional notice (Février 1971; Krahmalkov 1975: 174 n. 18; van den Branden 1981b).³

1. Announcement of the discovery was made by the Marquis de Vogüé on behalf of Delattre at the 28 April 1899 session of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (*CRAI* 4ième series 27 [1899]: 247) and in the English-speaking world by Phillippe Berger (1899b: 614). Delattre's preliminary report was made at the 8 September 1899 session of the Académie (Delattre 1899). The plate facing p. 560 is the first published photograph of the epitaph. Later notices include Delattre 1900: 35–37 and pl. 5, 4; and 1905: 20–22 and fig. 44. H. Benichou-Safar carefully reviewed Delattre's excavation (1982: 32; bibliography, p. 41; photo of site, p. 30, fig. 20; plan of site, p. 59, fig. 35).

2. Février was the editor responsible for its publication in the third fascicle (1962) of *CIS* as text 6000bis. Février 1958–59 addressed a further grammatical point.

3. Benichou-Safar (1982: 230–34 [no. 84]) reproduces the Latin translation of *CIS* without additional commentary.

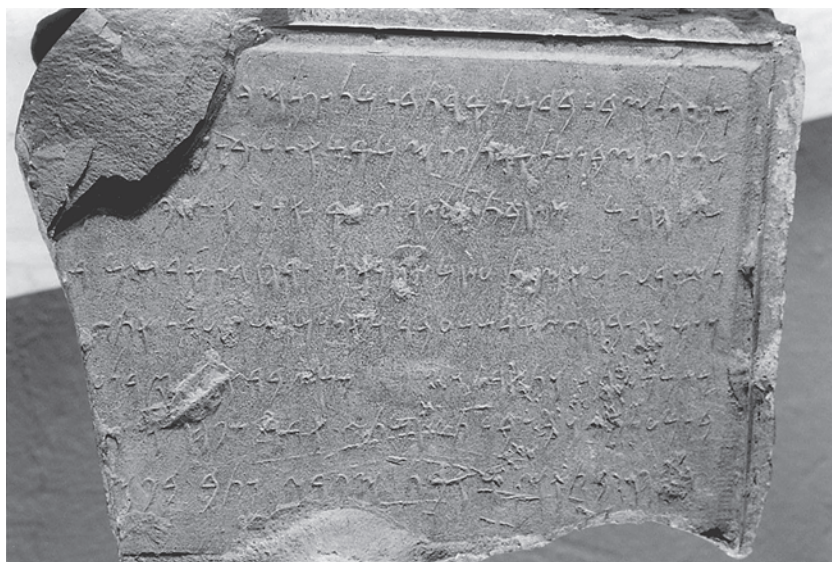


Fig. 15. *CIS I 6000bis*. Photograph by the author.

One might imagine that a century of study by specialists would have exhausted the possibilities of a brief text such as this, but such is not the case. It is characteristic of Phoenician and Punic epigraphy as a discipline that the translation and interpretation of texts has progressed slowly and incrementally. The corpus of extant Punic texts is small, and all of the longer Carthaginian texts are badly damaged. Improved readings are thus to be expected occasionally. Philological interpretation requires constant recourse to cognate languages, and past proposals remain subject to revision. Problems of diction raised by the text must be settled in a consistent and convincing manner.⁴

I offer a new interpretation of *CIS I 6000bis* based on examination of the inscription in the Carthage Museum.⁵ My translation and interpretation depend on four restorations never before proposed (in lines 3, 4, 6, and 8) and several new interpretations of established readings (previous translations appear in an appendix at the end of this chapter).

4. The term *diction* with respect to epigraphic texts serves as a convenient label for “the problem of evaluating the style and register of the inscriptions both as records of a speech community and in relation to literary traditions” (O’Connor 1988: 353). For a more programmatic statement, see O’Connor 1992: 112.

5. The Academic Affairs division at Eastern Michigan University provided funds for a portion of the research underlying this publication.

CIS I 6000bis

Text

- 1 *mlkpls bn bdmlqrt bn mlkpls bn [mlkḥrm bn]*
- 2 *mlkpls bn mlqrtpls mqm ʾlm bn [mlkpls bn]*
- 3 *mlkḥrm mšbt lʿzr yšr ʾnk ʾššp[y bn]*
- 4 *lskr ʿl mʾspt ʿšmy ṭnʾt k rḥ dl qdšm r[n]*
- 5 *k km khn bhyy qdšm ʿbd(!) wʾlnm šmš ʿd Pty*
- 6 *mšmm ktb wʾrt wš[ʿ]rt šmy brʾ[š š]tr lʿl[š l]*
- 7 *bnm ʿlty wkbkd tʿšmt y ʾdr šph sk[r]*
- 8 *bzbḥ bt ʾs wʾbt spry ktb bps [z]*

Translation

- 1 *Mlkpls* son of *Bdmlqrt* son of *Mlkpls* son of [*Mlkḥrm* son of]
- 2 *Mlkpls* son of *Mlqrtpls*, *mqm ʾlm*, son of [*Mlkpls* son of]
- 3 *Mlkḥrm*. A stele for a legitimate *minister* (have) I, ʾššpy, his son,
- 4 erected as a memorial over the collection of his bones, because his spirit is rejoicing with (the) holy ones.
- 5 For like a priest he served (the) holy ones during his lifetime, and divinities he attended until he was feeble.
- 6 *Doddering*, he wrote, and I revised; and I inscribed *his* name at the beginnin[g of a do]cument, so
- 7 that their [hea]rts might re[joice] over it. And in honor of his greatness, his kin magnified his memor[y]
- 8 in a sacrifice (at the) temple of Isis. And I consented to write my account upon [this] plaque.

Commentary

Line 1

[*mlkḥrm bn*]. This restoration was proposed by Ferron (1966: 69). The resulting line length, 33 letters, is consistent with the average in this inscription.⁶

Line 2

[*mlkpls bn*]. Again following Ferron's restoration (1966: 69). The resulting line length, 32 letters, is consistent with other lines of the inscription (e.g., line 6).

Line 3

mšbt l-. The construction used here indicates that the head noun is indefinite (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 157 [§9.7b]; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:

6. See the comment below on lines 6b–7.

Fig. 16. Restoration of letter traces at end of line 3. Drawing by the author.



2.474 [§130b]). In other instances of the phrase *m(n)šbt l-* (KAI 34.1, 3; 53.1; 78.2–4; 149.1–2), the prepositional phrase beginning with *lamed* refers to the deceased on whose behalf the monument was erected. This construction never introduces a purpose clause. The spelling of the noun *mšbt* is unusual in a Punic text; Phoenician shows this spelling, but Punic otherwise spells the word *mnšbt*.⁷ The meaning ‘stele’ may not entirely encompass the semantic range of this word (see Benichou-Safar 1982: 201–5, esp. p. 204; and Sader 1991–92: 108).

‘*zr*. This noun means ‘helper’ (DNWSI 837 s.v. ‘*zr*’), perhaps to be translated ‘auxiliary’ (Krahmalkov 2000: 364 s.v. ‘*zr* II’). The title ‘*dr* ‘*zrm* corresponds to Latin *praefectus sacrorum* in Neo-Punic-Latin bilinguals.⁸ In the present context, it is probably an occupational title designating a cultic functionary.

‘*šsp*[y]. This restoration, in my judgment, makes the best sense of the letter traces visible at the end of line 3 (see fig. 16). The name has the base *‘*ššp*- (cf. Biblical Hebrew *ššep* [Isa 54:8]).⁹ The common noun *šsp* occurs in Punic in the Marseilles Tariff (KAI 69.11), probably designating a type of sacrifice.¹⁰ The personal name ‘*ššpty* (CIS I 5758.4) is the only other occurrence of the form with prothetic ‘*alep*.¹¹

7. Krahmalkov 2000: 304. For additional Punic occurrences, see Bordreuil and Ferjaoui (1988: 137–42); Sader (1991–92: 107–16, esp. p. 108, line 1).

8. Bertinelli Angeli (1970: 131). Other occurrences of the Latin title are cataloged by Bassignano (1974: 26–27, 30–31, 33, 37–38). The Punic inscriptions are treated by Amadasi Guzzo (1979: 27–35) and Levi Della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo (1987: 50–51). On the etymology, see Miller (1970). A similar etymology is supposed by van den Branden (1981b: 157).

9. HALOT 1637; DNSWI 1185..

10. Amadasi Guzzo (1967: 179). Capuzzi (1968: 73–74), Benz (1970: 425), Lipiński (1993: 263), and Krahmalkov (2000: 85) leave the meaning uncertain.

11. The unmarked form of the name, *šsp*, is most abundant (23 examples: Benz 1970: 185, and one example in Röllig 2002: 451–52). Next in frequency is the base without prefix but with suffix *-t*; this is a feminine form of the name, *šspt* (8 examples: Benz 1970: 185). Forms with masculine hypocoristic suffixes are infrequent; *šsp’* (1 example); *šspm* (4 examples). The feminine hypocoristic suffix *-ty* occurs once, on a base extended with



Fig. 17. Restoration of last letter of line 4, showing the reading RN. Drawing by the author.

Ferron (1966: 72) restored a *taw* as the last letter of the name. He was guided by the traces of two descenders following the letter *pe* at the end of line 3; but these appear to me to be too closely spaced to be traces of the letter *taw*.¹² The traces appear rather to be the right and medial descenders of the letter *yod*. The *yod* at the end of line 5, when drawn on acetate and superimposed over the traces at the end of line 3, matches the spacing exactly. Hence my restoration, a form of the name otherwise unattested.

[*bn*]. Ferron's restoration would appear to be the most satisfactory (1966: 72). The word *bn* in its first occurrence in line 1, superimposed over the two remaining traces (following those restored above as *yod*) at the end of line 3, produces an exact match (see fig. 16). There is not sufficient space following the restored word *bn* for a patronymic to follow. A pronominal suffix is therefore to be read, giving 'his son'.

Line 4

skr. The expression *mšbt skr* 'memorial stele' (Krahmalkov 2000: 305) is to be found in Phoenician funerary inscriptions from the village of Umm el-Amed near Tyre (Dunand and Duru 1967: 187, 190–91; Ferron 1975: 2.288, 296). The phrase also occurs in a Phoenician-Greek bilingual found at Athens (KAI 53.1). The breakup of the construction in CIS I 6000*bis*.4 may be an indication of an elevated style.

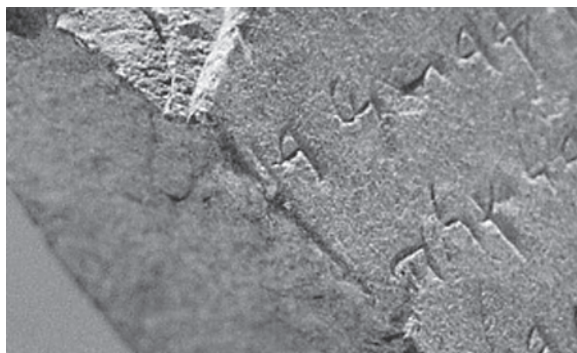
r[n]. I consider the restoration to be certain. The remaining letter trace perfectly matches the ascender of the letter *nun* as it is written throughout this inscription (see figs. 17 and 18). The verb is from the root *r-n-n* 'to shout' (with joy).

The clause *k rḥ dl qdšm rn* is an adverbial clause of reason, and its syntax merits comment. The unusual constituent order of the verb clause, with

the prothetic *ʾalep* prefix, *ʾsšpty*. The distributional pattern suggests that the presence of the prothetic *ʾalep* is phonetically conditioned by the presence of the suffix.

12. Indeed, none of the *taws* in the inscription, when drawn on acetate and superimposed over the traces, exactly matches the spacing of these traces. The descending strokes of *taw* as found in this inscription are spaced wider than the traces at the end of line 3.

Fig. 18. Detail of last letter of line 4, showing the reading RN. Photograph by the author.



the subject in initial position, is a syntactic marking of subordination. Similar examples of subject-initial word order in adverbial clauses of reason can be found in the Karatepe inscription: *k b^l wršp sprm šlln lbnt* ‘because Baal and Reshep *spr*m sent me to build’ (KAI 26 A II 9–11), and in the Phoenician text from Pyrgi: *k štrt ’rš bdy* ‘because Astarte requested of him’ (KAI 277.6).¹³ The Biblical Hebrew verb *r-n-n* represents the joyful shout of the resurrected dead in Isa 24:19.

Line 5

bd(!). Ferron (1966: 74) is certainly correct in arguing that the *reš* inscribed as this word’s final letter is a mistake, the intended letter being *dalet*.¹⁴ The parallelism with *šmš* is strong support for the correction.

šmš. This verb, meaning ‘serve, minister to’ (Krahmalkov 2000: 472), is found in Biblical Aramaic (Dan 7:10), Jewish Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew (Jastrow 1985: 1601–2; Krahmalkov 2000: 472), Mandaean Aramaic (Drower and Macuch 1963, 470), and Syriac (Payne Smith 1976: 585). Here it parallels *bd* in a cultic context.

l^{ty}. Février (1954: 76; 1968: 196), Ferron (1966: 74–75), and van den Branden (1981b: 158) derived the word from *l⁻²-y* ‘be able, strong, prevail’ (e.g., Akkadian *le²û* [AHw 547]). I follow Krahmalkov (1975: 174 n. 18; 2000: 251) in deriving it as a G infinitive construct from *l⁻²-y* ‘be(come) weak, feeble’ (cf. Biblical Hebrew *hal²ôṭ* [Isa 7:13]).

Line 6a

mšmm. This is the Polel participle of *š-m-m* (cf. DNWSI 1163 s.v. *šmm₁*). The Hebrew Polel participle of *š-m-m* denotes actual or metaphorical devastation, whether physical or mental (HALOT 1564–65). In Ezra 9:3, for example,

13. See further Schmitz (1995: 566).

14. So also Krahmalkov (1975: 174 n. 18).

məšōmēm (a state of shock resulting from unwelcome news) is translated “appalled” (NRSV) or “desolate” (NJPSV). In the present context, *mšmm* probably describes the effects of senility. The translation ‘doddering’ attempts to represent this condition.

ktb. G 3ms *k-t-b* ‘he wrote’ (cf. *DNWSI* 540 s.v. *ktb*₁). The implied subject is *Mlkpls*, writing some time before his decease.

tʿrt. This form is the 1cs D-stem suffixing form of the root *t-ʿ-r*. In Middle Hebrew, this form means ‘to shape; to give a fine appearance to; improve’ (e.g., *Num. Rab.* 10:10; Jastrow 1985: 1642).

wš[ʔ]rt. The second letter of the word is broken at the bottom but otherwise visible. Février (1954: 77) followed Berger in restoring the third letter as a *ʔet*.¹⁵ The verb is a first-person singular perfect from the root *š-t-r* ‘write’. The verb is attested elsewhere in Punic (*DNWSI* s.v. *štr*₁), and the derived noun is found in Punic *mštr* (*DNWSI* 700 s.v. *mštr*). In Biblical Hebrew is found the related title of office *šôṭēr*. The Akkadian cognate is *šaṭāru* ‘write’. Arabic *štr* (II) has the meaning ‘rule, draw lines (on a writing surface); write, jot down, record’ (Wehr 1994: 409).

šmy. The spelling is uncommon, like the accusative form *šmy* in the Karamete inscription (*KAI* 26 C IV 18).¹⁶

brʿ[š š]tr. The two restored letters are completely destroyed, so no guidance is available from traces. I follow the restoration preferred by Lidzbarski (1902–15: 1.167) and proposed, apparently independently, by van den Branden (1981b: 157). In Mishnaic Hebrew, the noun *rʿš* can refer to the beginning of a document (Jastrow 1985: 1437 s.v. *rʿš*). Note Mishnaic Hebrew *šēṭār* ‘writ, document’ (Jastrow 1985: 1555) and epigraphic Aramaic *štr* with the same meaning (*DNWSI* s.v. *štr*₁). In the epitaph of *Mlkpls*, the verb and noun from the root *š-t-r* constitute a *figura etymologica*.

Lines 6b–7

lʿ[š l]bnm. The expression ‘*alāš libbî* ‘my heart rejoices’ occurs in the passage of Biblical Hebrew verse called the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1; on the Biblical Hebrew verb, see Millard 1975).¹⁷ The restoration of this phrase in *CIS* 6000*bis* is crucial because it permits a count of the number of letters in line 6 (32 letters). That count is consistent with other lines of the inscription as restored.

15. Février’s vigorous defense of this reading (1968: 196) against Ferron’s proposal to read *k[ʔ]br* (1966: 75) is fully justified.

16. *KAI* 2.38, 3ms; Gibson (1982: 55), 1cs.

17. The verb is found in the Punic personal names *mlqrtʿlš* (Benz 1972: 141) and *qrtʿlš* (Benz 1972: 179). Note Krahmalkov (2000: 373 s.v. ‘*Lš* II).

The plural pronominal suffix on [l]bnm ‘their hearts’ raises the question *Whose hearts are rejoicing?* While the surviving family members would seem to be likely candidates, it remains possible that the deceased ancestors listed in the genealogy provide the intended antecedents of the pronoun. A curious statement in a famous Latin epitaph offers some ground for this speculation. The late-second-century B.C.E. epitaph of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Hispanus (*ILLRP* 316 = *CIL* I² 15)¹⁸ includes an elogium that makes the following claim:

Maiorum obtenui laudem ut sibi me esse creatum / laetentur
I upheld the praise of my ancestors, so that they are glad
I was created of their line.¹⁹

The Scipio family name was certain to attract the attention of any Carthaginian. Perhaps the theme of rejoicing ancestors had migrated to Carthage as an influence on the Punic writer of *CIS* I 6000*bis*.

ʿlty. The clause *ʿlty ʿlty* appears in a Punic text written on lead (*KAI* 89.4).²⁰ In the present context, the referent of the suffixed pronoun is not clear; it may be the funerary monument implied by the inscription, the inscription itself (or some portion of it, e.g., the genealogy), or its subject, Milkpilles.

kbd. The noun occurs in Late Punic. (*KAI* 123.4) in the expression *skr kbd* ‘memorial of honor’. The syntax of the preposition *b-* here is typical: e.g., Phoenician *bšdqy wḇḥkmty* ‘because of my righteousness and because of my wisdom’ (*KAI* 26 A I 12–13; see Segert 1976: 208 [§66.34]; 230 [§324.4]).

tʿšmty. The noun is feminine plural and abstract. It occurs also in Late Punic, in the phrase *dl ʿtrt wdl šm tʿšmt* ‘with a crown and with a magnificent title’ (*KAI* 165.6–7; Bertinelli Angeli 1970: 122; Krahmalkov 2000: 496). Note the Biblical Hebrew equivalent at Ps 68:36 (on the morphology, see von Soden 1989: 80).

ʾdr. The verb is D-stem²¹ third-person plural with a factitive sense: ‘they magnified’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 401–2 [§24.2e]; cf. *KAI* 26 A I 2; *DNWSI* 18 s.v. ʾdr₁).

šph. This singular and collective noun means ‘family’ (Krahmalkov 2000: 476–77).²²

18. On the epitaphs of the tombs of the Scipios, see Sandys (1927: 65–69) and Gordon (1983: 80–82).

19. Translation by Garland and Dillon (2005: 72). Scipio Hispanus lived “um 180–139 v Chr.” (Rüpke 2005: 1: 923). For a Latin equivalent of *ʿlty*, see above, p. 80.

20. Concerning this text, see p. 79.

21. Less likely, *yipʿil* (Krahmalkov 2000: 36 s.v. ʾ-D-R I).

22. In addition, *šph* occurs in line 2 of the Çineköy inscription (Tekoglu and Lemaire 2000: 994–96).

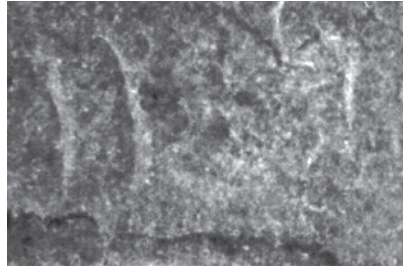
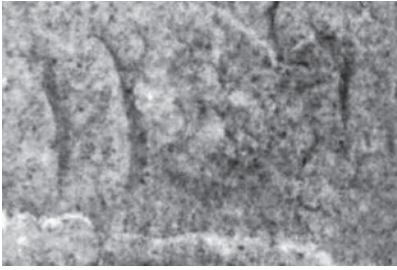


Fig. 19a (left). Detail of beginning of line 8, showing reading *bzbh*. Photograph by the author.

Fig. 19b (right). Detail of beginning of line 8, showing reading *bzbh*. Contrast enhanced. Photograph by the author.

Line 8

bzbh. The reading is based on my examination of the stone with the naked eye and under a magnifying lens. Photographs taken in natural light from various angles also reveal the relevant traces (see figs. 19a and 19b). The letter *bet* at the beginning of the line is completely preserved. The *zayin* is similar in shape and stance to the well-preserved example in the word *ʕr* in the middle of line 3. The third letter, *bet*, is visible but faint. The *het* can be seen clearly. The word *zbh* ‘sacrifice’ makes good sense in a context including mention of the temple of Isis.²³

bt. The verbal complement is an adverbial accusative of place, instead of a prepositional phrase involving *b-* (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 169–70 [§10.2.2b]). Other examples of adverbial accusatives include Phoenician *ʕn ʕš* ‘(in) the eyes of a man’, that is, in public view (*KAI* 60.5), and Punic *ʕt [r hlš] bʕl* ‘(in the) time of (the tenure of office of) *rab* of PN’ (*KAI* 69.1, 18; Segert 1976: 179 [§62.713]).²⁴ Bonnet (1997) marshals evidence of a Temple of Isis at Carthage.

ʔbt. The verb is *ʔ-b-y* ‘be willing, consent’ in the ground stem, suffixing conjugation, 1cs.²⁵

23. Sacrifices were performed in Isiac temples and sanctuaries throughout the Hellenistic world. See F. Dunand (1973, esp. vol. 3).

24. The Punic example also involves an abbreviation, the letter *reš* standing for the word *rb* or a related abstract noun (a title of office).

25. Février (1954; 1958–59: 30–31) interpreted *wʔbt* as a consecutive imperfect from a supposed root *b-t-t* ‘engrave’. He translated the sentence “Et j’ai gravé son inscription, écrite sur cette tablette” (Février 1971: 193–94). Février’s translation depends on the use of the consecutive imperfect (*wyqtł*) as a past-tense narrative verb form; in Phoenician or Punic, this usage is dubious.

spry. Mishnaic Hebrew *sippurîm* ‘narration’ (Jastrow 1985: 985) is perhaps cognate (Krahmalkov 2000: 348).

ktb. The form is infinitive.

ps. The English word *plaque* seems to render its meaning adequately (DNSWI 921; cf. Krahmalkov 2000: 400). The most extensive discussion of this noun is by Benichou-Safar (1982: 192–95). Its vocalization is indicated by the Late Punic. spelling *p^cs*, representing /pas/ (KAI 165.2).²⁶

Summary

Interpreted as argued above, *CIS I 6000bis* can be seen as a highly coherent text that presents a narrative concerning its own origin. A devoted son, aiding his failing progenitor, served as editor of a document his senile father composed. The document appears to have been a record of the father’s genealogy. The son then expanded this document with an account of the father’s blessed state of afterlife, a retrospective of the elder’s religious career as an auxiliary minister, his senescence, and the son’s own role in revising and drafting the epitaph that appears on the stone. The narrative concludes with a sentence concerning a sacrifice conducted by his family in his memory, perhaps on the anniversary of the elder’s death.

Prosopographic Notes

The deceased, *Mlkpls*, was a pious man devoted to religious service.²⁷ He was literate and appears to have busied himself with writing until his senescence. He imparted to at least one of his children not only a degree of filial piety but also literacy.

His family performed a sacrifice at the Temple of Isis (lines 7–8), and, from this, together with the reference to the survival of his spirit, it may be inferred that he was a devotee of the Isiac cult. The meager details of his biography mentioned above are consistent with this inference. In Egyptian forms of the cult, Isis and the god Thoth were patrons of literacy (Bergman 1968: 234–37). The second rank of auxiliary priest in Hellenistic cults of Isis in the Greco-Roman world was the *hierogrammateus* ‘sacred scribe’ (F. Dunand 1973: 3: 146).

The genealogy indicates that *Mlkpls* was probably of Tyrian descent. About a century earlier, his ancestor *Mlqrtpls* had held the cultic office *mqm ʾlm* (line 2), a ministry in the service of the god Melqart.²⁸ The name *Bdmlqrt*, borne by

26. On the etymology, see *AHw* 839, s.v. *passu(m)*.

27. The phrase *km khn* ‘like a priest’ (line 5) implies that he was not a priest.

28. The title may indicate Tyrian ancestry. The Phoenician (as opposed to Punic) spelling of the word *mšbt* (line 3) leads me to wonder whether the author of the epitaph was perhaps educated in Tyre.

the deceased's father, seems to indicate that devotion to Isis had not replaced veneration of Melqart among the early Hellenistic generations of the *Mlkpls* family. The name of the deceased's son and the epitaph's author, *ʾšpy*, departs from the genealogical pattern; but this probably indicates not a religious change but only that the son was not the eldest or (less likely) was the son of a secondary wife or concubine.

The reference to a sacrifice at the temple of Isis (line 8) raises questions about the veneration of Isis at Carthage. Older Canaanite religious traditions at Carthage must have fallen increasingly under the influence of the Hellenistic salvation cult associated with Isis.

The Reference to Future Life

Phoenician and Punic beliefs about future life had been inferred from funerary practices, tomb goods, and related remains of the material culture (Fantar 1970: 12–17; Ribichini 1987: 147–61, 1988: 123–24; Sader 1995b; Elayi and Haykal 1996).²⁹ Considerable progress has taken place in the study of the Punic necropolises of ancient Carthage and of the evidence they provide for burial practices and funerary rituals in Punic North Africa (Benichou-Safar 1973–74, 1982; Ferron 1975; Ribichini 1985; Fantar 1993: 311–27; Younès 1999).

With regard to the cognitive aspects of Carthaginian tradition, that is, the mental representations to which the symbols correspond (Lawson and McCauley 1990; Boyer 1993, 1994, 2001), textual evidence is sparse. Interpreters have had to rely primarily on interpretations of material culture. *CIS* I 6000*bis* is thus of considerable significance as an aperture into the beliefs of at least one ancient Carthaginian.

The clause *k rḥ dl qdšm rn* 'because his spirit is rejoicing with the holy ones' (line 4) is a clear statement of belief in the survival of the spirit after death. I find no evidence of a belief in resurrection in this passage. Use of the verb *r-n-n* does suggest a parallel with the joy of the resurrected dead in Isa 24:19, but the belief contexts are different.³⁰ The "Isaian apocalypse" anticipates national revival after devastation; Carthage has not yet experienced the same extent of loss and destruction. Both the biblical and Punic beliefs are ultimately Egyptian in origin, as the lexical link demonstrates, but the kernel motif has developed separately at Carthage, nourished by the religion of Isis.

The reference to future life in *CIS* I 6000*bis*.4 is related to Punic maledictions warning against spiritual judgment. In *CIS* I 3784.13, 3785 (= *KAI*

29. Phoenician burial practice is now better documented (Aubet, Nuñez, and Trelliso 1998–99; 2003).

30. On the biblical passage, see Schmitz (2003).

79).10–11, 4937.3–5, 5510(= *KAI* 302).1, and 5632.6–7, the construction *šp! brh* ‘judge the spirit’ occurs in maledictory contexts. The similar construction in 2 Chr 20:12 clearly implies severe punishment (van den Branden 1981a: 39). In the Punic maledictions, Baal Hamon or Tinnit or both deities judge the spirit of the offender. The future tense of these maledictions may imply that, although the offender is still living, the judgment will take place after death. Whether Isis might have played a role in Punic religiosity as a judge or advocate in the future life is yet unknown.

It appears that, at least from the Persian period to the Hellenistic age, Phoenician beliefs about the future life underwent a certain attenuation of elements inherited from Canaanite religion as Egyptian religiosity waxed in influence.

The notion of afterlife expressed in royal Phoenician texts from Persian-dominated Sidon appears to continue an older Canaanite view of the future life as repose with the departed ancestors. This view can be inferred from the maledictions of the funerary inscriptions of Tabnit, a king of Sidon ca. 500 B.C.E., and his son and successor Eshmunazar. Anyone who opens or disturbs the sarcophagus is to be deprived of a *mškb ʿt rpʿm* ‘resting-place with the *rpʿm*’ (*KAI* 13.8, 14.8), that is, numinous deceased potentates.³¹ The word *rpʿm* occurs once in a Neo-Punic-Latin bilingual inscription from al-Amruni; the Late Punic phrase *lʿl[n]ʿ rʿpʿm*³² corresponds to Latin *d(is) m(anibus)*.³³ These passages are generally seen as evincing some degree of continuity with beliefs evident in the Ugaritic texts concerning the *rpum*.³⁴ The Ugaritic noun *rpum* occurs several times in parallel with *ilnym*, always as the first member of the pair.³⁵ The Akkadian noun *ilānu* sometimes stands for ‘household deities’

31. On the Rephaim, see Liwak (1994), Lewis (1989), Smith (1992; 2000: 340; 2001: 68–69), and Ribichini (1987: 149–50; 1988: 124), and Schmidt (1994).

32. The reading was established by Clermont-Ganneau (1895: 156–64). J. Friedrich recently observed (1935: 80–83) that two restorations are possible: *lʿl[n]ʿ rʿpʿm* ‘to the deities of the *rpʿm*’ (so interpreted by Clermont-Ganneau [1895: 161]) or *lʿl[nm]ʿ rʿpʿm* ‘to the deities, the *rpʿm*’. (In either case, the letter *ʿayin* is a vowel letter, representing /a/; in the latter case, the initial *ʾalep* is the definite article.) *KAI* 117.1 adopts the second restoration and word division. Clermont-Ganneau’s restoration and word division is, I believe, to be preferred for reasons of syntax: if the phrase were appositional, the preposition *l-* would normally be repeated before the second member (on appositional prepositional phrases, see Schmitz 1995: 562–63). Clermont-Ganneau’s reading is also favored by Vattioni (1980–81: 298).

33. Epigraphic Latin *dis* corresponds to classical *deis*, *diis* (Gordon 1983: 194 s.v. *dis*). On the archaic phrase *dis manibus*, see Gordon 1983: 143 (62.1) with further bibliography. On the Latin text, see Adams (2003: 217–19).

34. For a comprehensive survey, see Pitard (1999: 264–65).

35. E.g., *KTU* 1.6 VI:45–46 = *CTA* 6.6.45–46; *KTU* 1.20.1–2 = *CTA* 20.1–2 (on the restoration, see Pitard 1992: 65–66); *KTU* 1.21A.3–4 = *CTA* 21A.3–4, 11–12 (restored). On the possible parallel *rpum* // *ilm*, see Pitard (1992: 68; 1999: 260–62).

or their images, particularly in the context of *kispu* offerings for the dead.³⁶ The cognate Late Punic noun *ʾln(m) ʾalōnīm* clearly occurs in a phrase referring to shades of the dead, but speculation about mortuary connotations of the Punic word seems unwarranted.

Phoenician royal imagery of repose with the ancestors does not appear in *CIS I 6000bis*. The reference to rejoicing (Punic *rn*, *CIS I 6000bis.4*) suggests a more festive setting in the afterlife. Our attention is drawn first to portrayals of mortuary banquets on Syro-Hittite funerary stelae and next to Carthaginian painted funerary shrines.

Figured Syro-Hittite funerary monuments date from the 10th to the 8th century B.C.E. (Bonatz 2000: 210). The deceased is portrayed seated or standing, usually before an offering table, frequently drinking from or holding a cup in the right hand (Bonatz 2000: 191, 193). The stelae often commemorate royal or elite ancestry. Scenes of the mortuary repast replaced earlier depictions of libation scenes (Bonatz 2000: 204–6).

Ferron (1975: 22–26) discussed four Carthaginian painted shrines.³⁷ The scenes on these *naos*-shrines are funerary and depict the deceased reclining at a *banquet couché* (see Dentzer 1982).³⁸ These scenes perhaps provide a context for interpreting the reference to future life in *CIS I 6000bis*.

Appendix: Previous Translations

Février 1954: 80

(1) Milkpillés, fils de Bodmelqart, fils de Milkpillés, fils [de X, fils de] (2) Milkpillés, fils de Melqartpillés, ordonnateur des choses sacrées, fils [de X, fils de] (3) Milkhérem. Une stèle en aide just, moi, *ʾšp*, . . . , (4) en souvenir au-dessus de la sépulture de ses ossements, j'ai érigée, parce qu'il s'est complu aux choses saintes . . . [et] (?) parce que, comme un (ou: en tant que?) prêtre, durant sa vie, ila présenté les choses saintes (c. à d. les sacrifices et les offrandes) et a servi les dieux de son mieux . . . (6) conformément à l'écrit et au dessin; et j'ai écrit son nom, en haut du fronton, pour toujours (?) . . . (7) par bienveillance pur lui et en glorification de ses ossements. Le chef du clan, Sa[karba'al, fils de] (8) Yârôah Temple d'Isis. Et j'ai gravé son inscription, inscrite sur [cette] tablette.

36. *CAD I/J 103a*; *AHw 374b*. On Akkadian *ilanu*, with comprehensive bibliography, see Tsukimoto (1985: 98–104); also Schmidt (1994: 17, 31, 44, 150). On *kispu*, see *CAD K 425–27*. On *kispu*-type rituals at Ugarit, see Pardee (1996).

37. Shrine no. 1 = Ferron 1975, fig. 17b; no. 2 = fig. 16a; no. 3 = fig. 16b; no. 5 = fig. 17a.

38. Color photographs of two of these funerary shrines are beautifully reproduced in Moscati 1988: 452.

CIS I 6000bis (fasc. 3, p. 521)

Milkpillesus, filius Bodmelqarti, filii Milkpillesi, filii [. . . filii] Milkharmi.

Cippum in auxilium justum ego Ašsap . . . in memoriam erexi super sepulcrum ossium ejus, quia rebus sanctis delectabatur . . . quia vivus res divinas sicut sacerdos fecit (?) et deos quoquo modo potuit (?) coluit . . . secundum libellum et descriptionem. Et scripsi nomen ejus in summo fastigio (cippi) in æternum . . . per benevolentiam erga eum et ad honorem ossium ejus. Princeps tribus Sak[arba`al (?), filius] Yaruh. Templum Isidis. Et exaravi titulum ejus inscriptum in hac (?) tabella.

Ferron 1966: 77–78

- 1 *mlkpils*, fils de *bdmlqrt*, fils de *mlkpils*, fils de *mlkhrm*, fils de
- 2 *mlkpils*, fils de *mlqrtpils*, ressusciteur de la divinité, fils de *mlkpils*, fils de
- 3 *mlkhrm*.—Monument en l'honneur d'un patron juste (que) moi, *ʾššp*,
fils de . . .
- 4 j'ai érigé en mémorial sur le lieu où sont rassemblés ses ossements,
parce que (c'était) un esprit de sainteté (que) le sien:
- 5 comme un prêtre, durant sa vie, les cérémonies du culte, il accomplit,
et les dieux, il servit, jusqu'à épuisement.
- 6 Me conformant au fac-similé et au dessin, j'ai inscrit son nom au
sommet du fronton, pour toujours
- 7 par bienveillance pour lui et pour la glorification de ses ossements, (lui
qui est) un prince du peuple dont l'âme habite
- 8 la demeure d'Isis. Enfin, j'ai gravé son épitaphe, en l'inscrivant sur
cette tablette.

Van den Branden 1981b: 156

- 1 Milkpilles, figlio di Bodmelqart, figlio di Milkpilles, figlio di *nn*, figlio
di
- 2 Milkpilles, figlio di Melqartpilles, figlio di *nn*, figlio di
- 3 Milkharam. Stele per l'ausiliare giusto, Io, *ʾššp*. . . .
- 4 io (l'ho) eretta, in monumento commemorativo, sul sepolcro delle sue
ossa, perché egli si è dedicato alle cose sante e. . . .
- 5 come sacerdote, durante la sua vita, ha elargito le cose sante e ha
servito gli dèi di tutto cuore
- 6 secondo le prescrizioni dello scritto e della legge. E io ho tracciato il
suo nome in capo all'iscrizione, per sempre,
- 7 in simpatia per lui e in onore delle sue azioni benefiche. Il capo della
šph (era) Sakarba`al, figlio di
- 8 Jarih. Tempio di Iside. Ho inciso la mia iscrizione, (quella) scritta su
questa lastra.

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The Phoenician Diaspora

In this approachable and articulate study, Philip C. Schmitz offers close interpretations of six ancient texts, four previously published Phoenician and Punic inscriptions and two Phoenician inscriptions published for the first time. The author selected the previously known texts because readings of their letters and interpretation of their grammar and syntax are not yet well established. Each of the selected texts stands as an original source concerning Phoenician settlement in the western Mediterranean, Phoenician activity in Egypt, or the economic life and religious beliefs and practices of ancient Carthage.

Chapter 1 rapidly surveys the history of Phoenician-Punic epigraphy and offers a limited inventory of recent publications of epigraphic texts. Chapter 2 undertakes a new reading and translation of the Phoenician stele from Nora, Sardinia (*CIS I 144*). Chapter 3 edits and translates the larger Phoenician inscriptions from Abu Simbel, in Egypt (*CIS I 112*). Chapter 4 concerns the paleographic analysis of selected Phoenician graffiti from Tell el-Maskhuta. Chapter 5 publishes an overlooked *dipinto* inscription on an amphora excavated at Carthage. (An appendix by Joann Freed contextualizes the amphora.) Chapter 6 takes a text-critical look at *CIS I 6068*, an enigmatic Punic inscription on lead, thought since its discovery to be a curse text. Schmitz argues that it is not a curse but a quittance for debt. Chapter 7 is a new reading and translation of *CIS I 6000bis*, a Punic epitaph from the Hellenistic period of Carthage.

Among the features of this book that may interest students and scholars are: new translations and interpretations of important inscriptions the translation and interpretation of which have been disputed; previously unpublished photographs of inscriptions, illustrating difficult readings; author's hand drawings of difficult readings; and grammatical analysis with reference to other known texts and standard reference works.



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